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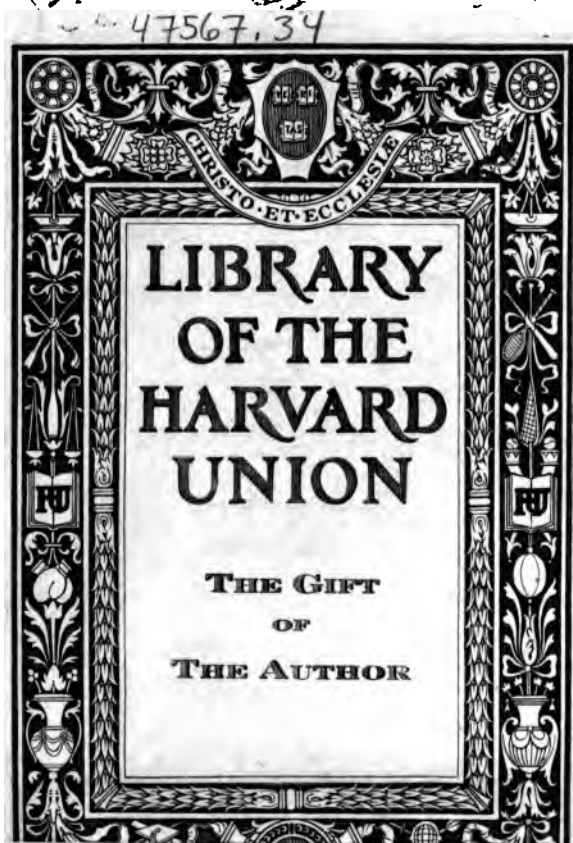
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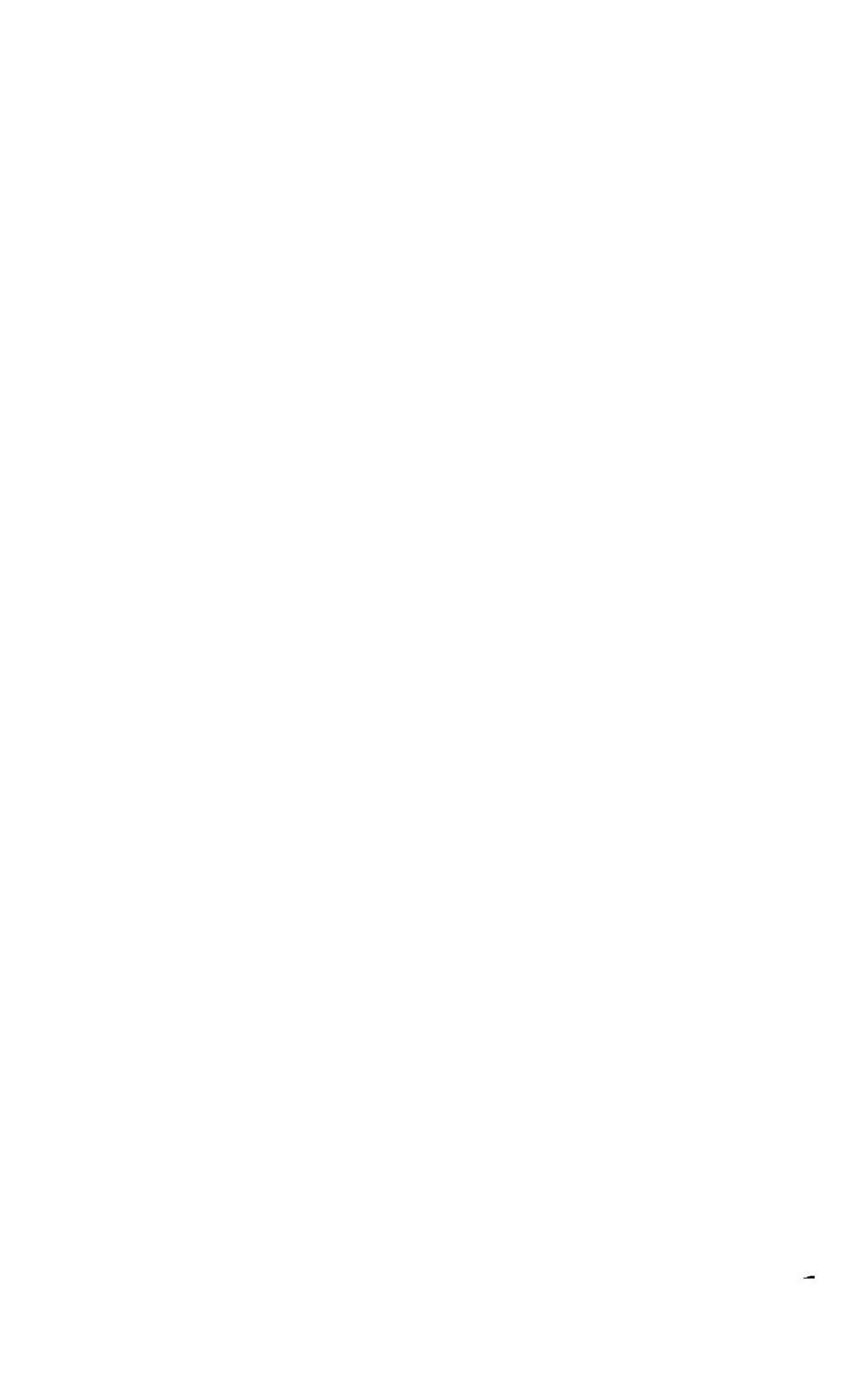
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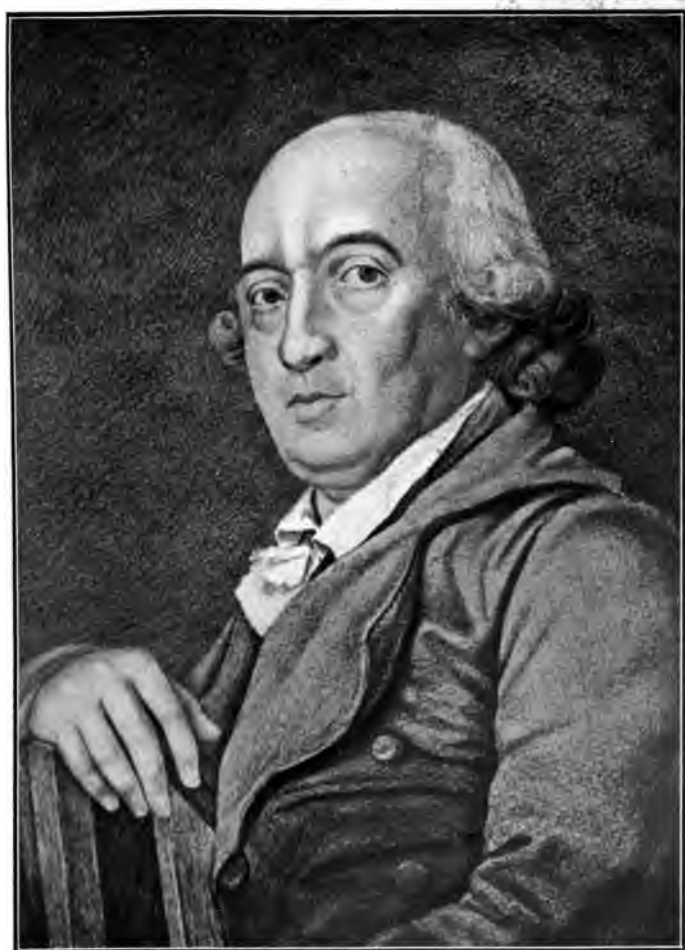


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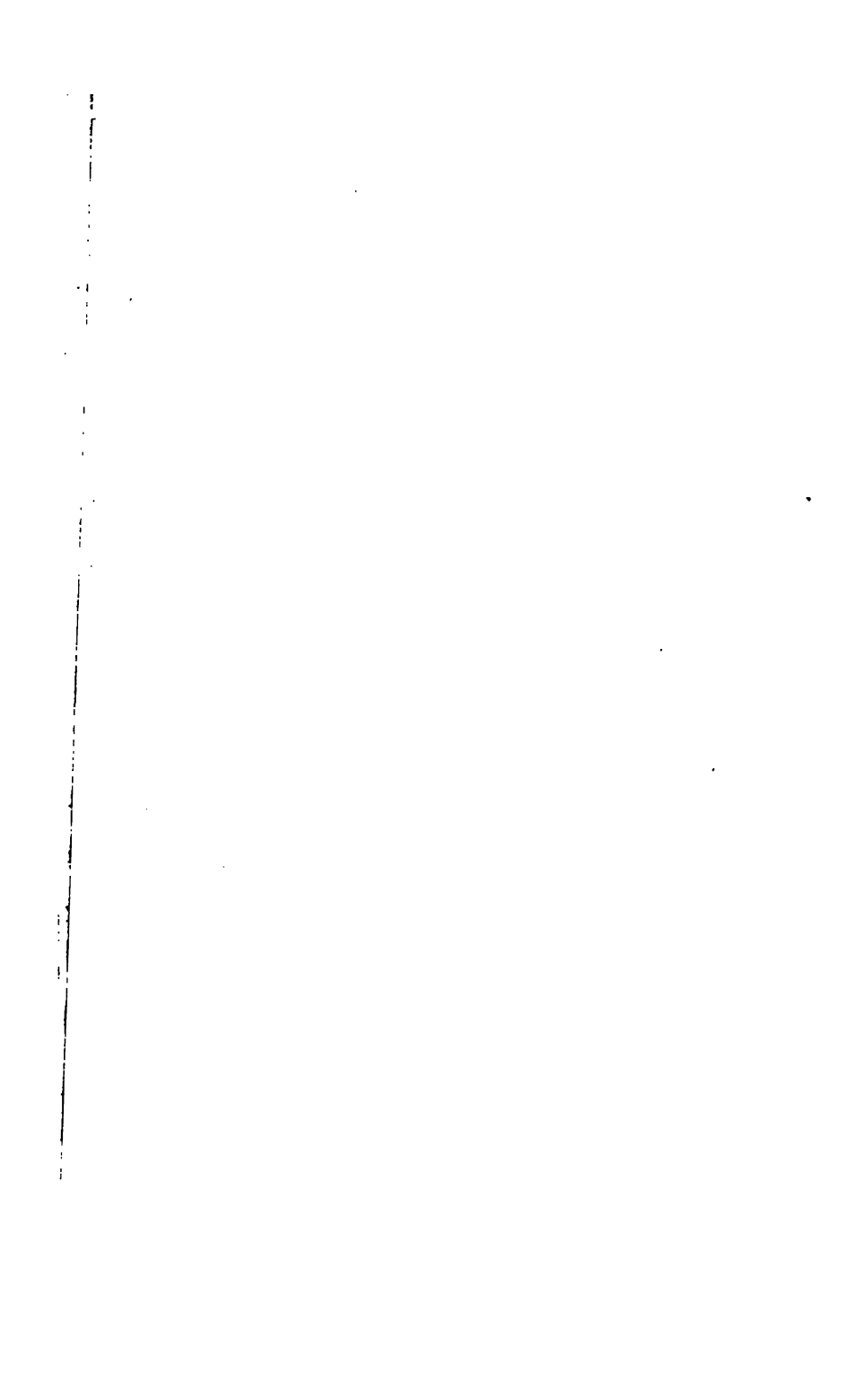


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Herder in his Fifty-sixth Year



Johann Gottfried Herder as an Educator

By

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**G. E. STECHERT & CO.
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To
My Wife

“Nicht Wortgelehrte, sondern gebildete, nützliche geschickte Menschen will unsere Zeit.”

“Nicht der Schule muss man lernen, sondern dem Leben.”

“Das Hauptwort der Schulen und Gymnasien ist also *μελετα* übe dich.”

“Gnug, unser Gemeinwesen ist Humanität, Bildung der Kinder und Jünglinge zu tüchtigen, fleissigen, arbeitsamen, moralischen, mithin auch lebenswürdigen, fröhlichen und dem Staat brauchbaren, wohldenkenden Menschen.”

—*Herder.*

PREFACE

In preparing this volume it seemed best to give a brief sketch of Herder's life, which was one of the most interesting and picturesque among the great writers. For biographical material I am indebted particularly to Rudolf Haym's masterly work, "Herder nach seinem Leben und seinen Wirken," Berlin, 1877-1885; Eugen Kühnemann's artistic "Herder," München, 1912; Richard Bürkner's brief but comprehensive little volume, "Herder, sein Leben und Wirken," Berlin, 1904; Henry Nevins's delightful volume, "A Sketch of Herder and His Times," and the fascinating "Errinerungen aus dem Leben Joh. Gottfried von Herders," Stuttgart & Tübingen, 1830. The latter is a collection of various documents brought together by Herder's widow and supplemented by her own writings. This collection is edited by Johann Georg Müller. In writing this part of the volume, I have tried to present the human side of Herder's life as well as to show his particular interest in and contribution to education.

The subject-matter for Chapter II was suggested largely by Theobald Ziegler's "Geschichte der Pädagogik mit besonderer Rücksicht auf das höhere Unterrichtswesen," München, 1909, Friedrich Paulsen's "German Education" (translated by T. Lorenz), N. Y., 1908, and

PREFACE

Ernst Richard's "History of German Civilization," N. Y., 1911.

Several criticisms of Herder as an educator have been of great assistance in preparing those chapters dealing with Herder's direct contribution to education, but Herder's pedagogical writings, found in volume 30 of the Suphan edition of Herder's works, have been invaluable. A translation of Herder's "Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit" by T. Churchill, London, 1803, has been most helpful in the presentation of Herder's philosophy and his contribution to culture.

Throughout this volume an effort has been made to present the spirit of Herder by quoting frequently from his writings, and, even when quotation marks are not used, much of the material is rather a free translation.

The writer wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Mr. Horace G. Brown, who kindly assisted with the page proof, to Dr. Louis N. Wilson for valuable suggestions, to Dr. G. Stanley Hall, who read this volume in manuscript form, and to Dr. W. H. Burnham for his unfailing help and criticism.

J. MACE ADDRESS.

Boston Normal School,
February 1, 1916.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

New Conceptions of the History of Education—Reasons for Herder's Obscurity—An Educator in the Larger Sense.

The formal works on the history of education are conspicuous as much for what they lack as for what they contain. This must necessarily be so because the history of education is one of the most recent of the historical studies, and is so interrelated with the great movements of civilization, intellectual, religious, artistic, economic, social, philosophical, etc., that the selection of its materials is slow and difficult. Within the last decade or so, however, we have learned that the theories and practices of education can only be imperfectly and superficially understood unless projected against the broad background of universal history, particularly what might be called the history of culture. Such a study of the history of education leads to the minimizing of many things formerly thought to be important or puts them into a different perspective and brings into the foreground events that have a profound significance in relation to the historical development of education. Not infrequently, too, it has been found that certain men owe their conspicuous position in the history of education to the chance observation of a super-

ficial writer whose estimate has been passed on to others, and, in the course of time, has been thought of as infallible. The recognition of education as conditioned by other great forces of civilization besides the school often detracts from the glory of the traditional pedagogical idols. Often men who have never been thought of as having had much to do with education emerge with a new meaning. This is particularly true of men who have led in the great intellectual movements. They are raised to a new dignity and worth, and are enrolled among the world's great educators.

Among this rather large number of men who merit such honor, if we are guided by this newer and deeper conception of educational values, is Johann Gottfried Herder.

To the ordinary American student of the history of education the name of Herder is unfamiliar. The text-books in common use leave him out altogether or barely refer to him in passing so that his true importance is not revealed. Even the articles on Herder in our best encyclopædias throw little light upon him as an educator. To the general run of college graduates the name of Herder suggests a man of letters, a poet, but little more can be said of him. Even those who have made a special study of the German classics often have a vague notion of his contribution to culture. One might say of Herder as Lessing is reported to have said of Klopstock that he is

"praised rather than read." This ignorance of Herder's writings is certainly not due to their being few in number. The Suphan edition of Herder's writings fills thirty-one volumes. If we accept the opinion of some of the best experts that Herder did make important contributions to education and culture, we might ask why the intelligent world as a whole is so ignorant of this man whose name in some unaccountable way seems to be associated with the undying glory of Goethe and Schiller?

Without attempting to answer this question here fully it might be said that it was largely because of certain literary faults which have made his works rather unreadable to the present generation, although they abound with many passages of rare beauty and brilliancy. His range of knowledge was broader in all probability than that of any other man of his time, but his genius was encyclopædic and fragmentary. He was overshadowed by the supreme literary genius of men like Goethe and Schiller.

Many other men whose contribution to the world's progress was little or nothing have won recognition because of unusual power of expression. Heinrich Heine was a good example of this. Although his poems are generally barren of thought and his influence intellectually has been almost nil, yet the weird and wonderful music of the best that he has written has caused him to be read and sung the world over; notwithstanding,

as a moral and intellectual force in the world, compared to Herder, he is a pigmy.

The general lack of appreciation of Herder is thus explained, at least in part, but not those things which really entitle him to a monumental place in the history of education—the theme of this volume.

Let us anticipate the results of this study here by briefly suggesting why he ought to be considered as an educator in this larger sense.

First of all, Herder was a practical schoolman of unusual ability. As a class-room teacher in several schools, he showed that he was especially gifted in imparting knowledge. For a quarter of a century, too, he was the administrator of the schools of the Duchy of Weimar at a time when it might have been called the Athens of Germany. He did not perform his tasks in a perfunctory and conventional manner as had many of his predecessors but endeavored to bring about a thoroughgoing reform. He concerned himself personally with courses of study, methods of teaching, the training of teachers, better school equipment, better libraries, the specific aim of various studies, etc. The reform of the Weimar gymnasium was probably his greatest piece of school reorganization. As a German schoolmaster Herder was one of the finest types possessing many qualities which the American teacher might emulate with profit.

Second, he was a leader in the movement known

as New Humanism. This movement meant the overthrow of the old humanism, which was decidedly formalistic and barren, and the setting up of new ideals and methods in teaching the classics. It emphasized particularly the study of Greek. These ideals and methods, which were pretty well worked out in the Weimar gymnasium, inspired a new type of gymnasium in Germany.

✓ Third, he was a writer on educational theory. His pedagogical writings in volume 30 of the Suphan edition consist of some 600 pages. They were not published until after his death, and were not intended for the world outside of Weimar; yet they were filled with many splendid suggestions and anticipate much of our modern practice. Most of our present educational literature refers to the aim of education as social efficiency, so, too, Herder's ideal, *ein ganz gesunder Mensch fürs Leben*. Herder even considered with much care the details of teaching various subjects. His attitude toward the aims and methods of teaching geography and history was truly remarkable for his day and age. These writings, which are practically unknown to English-speaking students, are alone sufficient to give him a place in the history of education. Then too in the vast majority of his most important writings, which had a wide circulation, Herder invariably assumed the attitude of the educator, so that his general theories of education are

found in works which outwardly suggest little relation to pedagogy.

Fourth, Herder was an author of children's text-books, which were an improvement over those in use and showed an unusual insight into child nature.

Fifth, Herder was one of the most important teachers of the general public in his century. His writings were voluminous and varied and succeeded in stimulating in a marked degree the intellectual life of Germany. He was also one of the most successful court preachers of his age. Liberal and elevated in his thought, simple and direct in his delivery, eloquent in his speech, he attracted large crowds to his church. In his audiences from time to time were some of Germany's greatest men of letters. As a preacher alone his influence was most important.

Sixth, Herder helped to lay the foundation of German culture, yes, even world culture. In this sense he was bigger than any mere school-master. It was his mission to teach the whole German people. He was a John the Baptist preaching a new culture, a prophet, a pathfinder of better things. Appearing in Germany in the latter half of the eighteenth century when German society, German literature, and every phase of German culture had become formalized, Herder lifted his hand against such superficiality and it vanished, so rapidly, indeed—and this is a pathetic chapter in his life—that in the closing years of


his career he could not comprehend the change, and often chased windmills instead of real foes of German culture. Inspired by a patriotism which rose above narrow provincialism and bigotry, burning with a new sense of the dignity and worth of human nature, he contended that German culture, if it was to be truly genuine, must be deeply rooted in the past. He rebelled against French and Latin literary models and maintained that Germany must develop her own culture. The *Volkslieder*, which up to that time had been looked upon with good-natured contempt, he praised as being superior to the literary efforts of men like Gottsched. They had the flavor of the German hearthstone and were a natural expression of the German heart. It was largely through Herder's efforts that the German language awoke from its deep sleep and realized its worth.

What Herder did for literature he did also in a lesser degree for nearly every department of German culture. He gave his country a philosophy of culture—the idea that culture did not originate from without but from within. This gained wide acceptance and was largely responsible for the development of that culture which is essentially Germanic. It is perhaps the misfortune of Germany that some of her great leaders have failed to live up to Herder's philosophy in their relations with other peoples. While Herder's ideas have been applied with great success to their own development some of her most prominent

leaders have advocated the spread of German culture by force of arms, a policy which would have seemed futile and repulsive to Herder.

Seventh, the enthusiasm for the mother tongue, which Herder helped to create, was largely responsible for the introduction of the German language into the schools. Throughout his writings we find a vehement condemnation of the old-type of Latin school with its meaningless content and empty forms. He demanded that the schools satisfy the needs of everyday life and make good German citizens. For such purposes he believed that a knowledge of the German tongue and skill in its use were indispensable. In the Weimar gymnasium he put his theories into practice, and admonished the students when the opportunity was presented to study the German writers.

Eighth, Herder deserves to be called the founder of the genetic method of study. Modern critics say that he was not clear and accurate in his scholarship, and this is doubtless true, but a man who thrice carried off the prize from the Academy at Berlin, and twice won the highest honors from the Academy at Munich, a man who was recognized as a peer among the most intellectual men that Germany has ever produced, must have had scholarly talents above the ordinary. But it was not in accuracy of scholarship that Herder made his contribution. He gave a method of study which was far-reaching. He turned back to the origins of things to find their meanings, to



history, literature, anthropology, and natural science, and this was done with so much zeal and so intelligently that he laid the foundation for the evolutionary study of culture. He established the principles of the genetic methods of study long before Charles Darwin appeared on the scene. Not only were these principles advanced but they were put into practice by Herder himself and others who came under his influence. Such a method, coupled with a wonderful breadth of human knowledge and an unusual capacity for work, made Herder a pioneer in modern scholarship, and even a founder of many studies. There was scarcely a subject of the vast field of culture from theology, literature, history, anthropology, art, philosophy, to education that he did not anticipate or stimulate. He was one of the world's greatest pathfinders.

Ninth, there is scarcely a significant tendency in modern education that Herder did not anticipate. This was particularly true of his conception of the meaning of education. His contemporaries, cramped by their narrow vision and bowed down by a load of tradition and formalism, believed that education consisted for the most part in facility in using the Latin language. Herder rebelled against this most emphatically. He believed that it was not the function of the school to make Romans but rather to promote efficient citizenship. Education should satisfy the practical needs of life. This did not mean, however, a

narrow utilitarianism. The classics should still be studied, but for their content and idealism; their outer form was not to be blindly imitated. Pupils should also acquire the knowledge and skill necessary to meet successfully the everyday situations of life. Such idealistic and efficient citizenship Herder believed could be best promoted by giving pupils a large measure of training and self-activity. In an age when mere knowledge was rated as possessing supreme worth Herder suggested that the chief business of the school was to give pupils training. This idea, that the schools should give training for citizenship, is regarded in this country as a new departure in education although it was advocated enthusiastically by Herder over a century ago.

According to the standards of the newer history of education, it is obvious from the foregoing that Herder's contribution to the progress of education was highly significant. He was a practical schoolman, but he was something more; he was closely identified with the great intellectual movements of his age, and from these vantage points he exercised an influence on education which was at once subtle and profound. He was not merely a unique and inspiring personality of Germany's golden age of literature; he was the teacher of newer ideals of living and a powerful moulder of modern culture. That influence in a larger way comes down to us to-day in the manifold complexities of civilization. As a

practical teacher, too, his life is full of inspiration. Education to him did not mean outer decoration but inner self-realization which would enable one to become a free self-directing force in the world. Meaningless form he cordially hated. Education was to fit the individual for life. He did not judge the institutions of society, school, church, and state by means of the traditional values. Each was fulfilling its divine destiny if it was helping the individual to realize his highest and best self. Here was the essence of genuine education, religion, and democracy. He never forgot the individual. The goal of life must be self-realization.

CHAPTER II

THE TIMES OF HERDER (1744-1803)

The German Empire—Lack of Unity—Social and Political Conditions—Frederick the Great—the "Aufklärung"—Pietism—Rousseau and Naturalism—New Humanism—German Philosophy and Literature—Romanticism—Progress of Education—A New Ideal of Culture—Herder its Prophet.

The latter half of the eighteenth century, the age of Johann Gottfried Herder, was one of the most brilliant epochs in the history of Germany. It was a transitional period in which the foundations of the Germany of to-day were being built. Amid the chaos of conflicting personalities, antagonistic social forces, and revolution, a new spirit of culture was being born. Men arose who were to mould the intellectual life of Germany for the next century, and even longer. Prominent among them all stood Herder, who anticipated and influenced in a remarkable way the whole trend of German thought. He was the spokesman of his age, the apostle of a new philosophy of life. Before we can appreciate him or his contribution as an educator to the civilization of Germany or to the world, it would seem profitable for us to note briefly the most striking characteristics of the times in which he lived.

The German Empire during the latter part of the eighteenth century existed mostly on paper. While the emperor ruled over a large area, as

emperor he was utterly powerless. What power he had he owed to his family possessions, now known as Austria-Hungary. There were hundreds of independent rulers who paid him homage merely as a matter of form. The great mass of the people had no voice in the government and they were completely fenced off from their rulers by a privileged nobility. The Reichstag, the imperial parliament, was a body of ambassadors representing the princes. As an institution it was careful not to devote itself to important matters of state. Its chief purpose seemed to be that of preserving its dignity and maintaining the social classification of its membership. There were German peoples, or better still perhaps, independent political units inhabited and governed by Germans, but no united Germany; yet there can be no doubt but what there was a genuine longing for national life, a desire which was not to be gratified until near the close of the nineteenth century.

The different classes of Germany were separated by hard and fast lines. The condition of the peasant was deplorable. He was heavily taxed and had few privileges and opportunities. It was thought that the various classes had been created by God and were natural institutions. The nobleman of the time felt this so strongly that he considered the peasant much the same as he would an animal. The only person who had a chance to realize himself was the noble,

who was supported by the classes below him. Toward the end of the century the growth of more democratic political and social ideals tended to lessen the breach between the nobility and the rising middle classes. There was beginning to be a new conception of the dignity and worth of man.

Disturbed by wars and internal religious and political strife, suffering from the loss of a national life, it was natural that Germany should lag far behind the strong nations of France and England and become more or less subservient to them intellectually. In literature, art, and education Germany aped the French. The German tongue was looked upon as coarse, unrefined, and insignificant as a vehicle of thought. Even Frederick the Great, a writer himself and a man of scholarly pursuits, wrote in French and looked with disdain on his mother tongue. The close of the eighteenth century changed all this. French influences disappeared and the English and classical came in. The great thinkers, like Immanuel Kant, were writing in German, and the Germans were producing, independent of the French, a literature which was largely native to the soil. It was written by such men as Schiller and Goethe.

Four years before Herder was born, that great genius, Frederick the Great, came to the Prussian throne. His reign covering 46 years (1740-1786) coincides with the most fruitful years of Herder's life. The brilliant campaigns waged by him

against the combined powers of Europe made him a world hero and lifted high in many hearts a hope for a united fatherland. Although he fought the armies of France successfully, he had the greatest admiration for her language, literature, and philosophy. Voltaire and other celebrated thinkers found a hearty welcome at his court. In spite of all this he aroused a feeling of pride for that which was distinctly Germanic. His achievements in war as well as in peace helped to create a distinctly German spirit in literature, philosophy, and education.

The reign of Frederick the Great is characterized by a large number of intellectual movements. The one with which Frederick himself was most closely identified was "Rationalism." In German literature it is commonly referred to as the "*Aufklärung*." It was a philosophy which expressed unlimited confidence in reason. It found voice for the first time in a definite way in the teachings of Christian Thomasius. The great teacher of this philosophy was Christian Wolff, who gave it popularity and system. In France rationalism had led to freethinking, but in Germany it remained loyal to the principles of Christianity. It only insisted on explaining the church doctrines through reason. The wrath of its logic, however, was turned toward superstition in all its forms and toward formal orthodoxy because of its supreme intolerance. Its progress in Germany was slow because it encountered antiquated

institutions and very deep-seated prejudices. For history and tradition it had the most profound contempt. It failed to find reason in the obnoxious institutions and precedents of the past, and reason alone it affirmed was able to explain everything. With arrogance it asserted its power to create a universe out of itself. Although over-leaping itself in its enthusiasm it struck theological dogmatism a mighty blow. In so far as it showed the equality of human nature and the universal application of the moral law it became an emancipator of humanity.

Frederick the Great was a powerful champion of the new school. His actions squared with his belief. He introduced reforms into his kingdom which made him the most enlightened monarch of the world. One of his greatest acts was the establishment of liberty of thought throughout his dominions. In Prussia everybody could worship as he pleased or not at all. He abolished torture, instituted law in place of the arbitrary will of the sovereign, established schools, and acknowledged and made himself the real servant of his people.

The great contribution of rationalism was freedom to think and freedom to teach—priceless treasures to the world of scholarship. The activity of Thomasius virtually led to the founding of the University of Halle, which became the first home of academic freedom. Other universities throughout Germany gradually took Halle as

their model. The acceptance of this new philosophy worked miracles. The university was transformed from a dead, dry, formal institution into a workshop of original investigation. Modern science and liberal theology were heartily welcomed, and petrified erudition was replaced by more useful knowledge.

Rationalism had reached its culmination when Herder appeared on the scene as a scholar and man of letters.

Another movement known as Realism, which was of unusual importance to education, received an impetus from Halle. It rested upon the fundamental principle that education could be gained not merely by learning words but by experience, by coming in contact with things—the realities of life. It was one form of reaction against the barren scholasticism of the middle ages and the worn-out humanism of that day. Although its history extends over a long period of time, having been expounded by Comenius and Locke, its principles were applied for the first time in Germany by the Pietists.

Pietism was a revolt against the dead formalism of Lutheran orthodoxy. Above all it was a revolt against a predominantly intellectual comprehension of religion. In this respect it was thoroughly opposed to rationalism. The founder of its pedagogy was August Hermann Francke (1663–1727), who was associated with Thomasius at the newly founded University of Halle. At

this same time he was a pastor in a neighboring town. Francke was so moved by the ignorance and want of the poor people in his parish that he longed to help them. One day a present of seven guldens suggested the founding of a school for poor children. The enterprise grew rapidly, and at the time of his death hundreds of pupils were attending his schools, which included not only institutions for poor children but also for the middle classes and for the nobility. A seminary for teachers was also established. Naturally religion was the subject which was most emphasized in his schools, but useful knowledge and the practical arts were considered next in importance. Turning, grinding glass, cardboard work, and similar arts were taken up for diversion. Music, drawing, science, history, French, and the vernacular gave the academic work a decidedly realistic flavor.

It was Johann Julius Hecker, a teacher in Francke's secondary school, the *pedagogium*, who established in 1747 the first permanent *real-schule* in Germany at Berlin. It met with royal favor and was finally incorporated into the public school system.

Pietism exerted a great influence on the church and on the schools. Educational institutions patterned after those of Francke extended rapidly over the German states. It affected all schools from the lowest to the highest. Wherever it ruled in the university it meant neglect of the

humanistic and philosophical studies and a repression of the truly scientific spirit whose worldly and realistic side it both feared and hated.

During Herder's life Pietism was falling into decay. It had become ossified and formalized, a victim of the same tendencies which it had tried to overcome; but its influence in furthering the realistic in education still lived on.

Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) helped along this tendency. He was a follower of John Locke. Although he had little independence as a thinker, everything in his mouth sounded new. He spoke like a prophet who had authority, and the world listened and understood. In discussing the education of his imaginary boy, Emile, he says that which he does not experience, does not hear and see himself, he should not learn as word knowledge. "I hate books" he cried. "Our first teachers of philosophy are our feet, our hands and our eyes. To substitute books for all these is not to teach us to reason, but to teach us to use the reason of others; it is to teach us to believe much, and never to know anything." (66.)

The realistic in Rousseau's philosophy was only one phase of a larger philosophy of life. He rebelled against the whole of civilization, its government, laws, habits, institutions, and conventionalities. Existing civilization seemed to him (and there was a good deal of truth in his belief) to be artificial, superficial, polished, cold, selfish, and materialistic. Morality was a matter

of the punctilious observance of certain set rules. Reason was accepted as an infallible guide. Emphasis was put on the outward forms of behavior with little thought of inward reality. In bold contrast to the brilliancy, extravagance, and gayety of the court, Rousseau saw the great masses of the people in abject poverty, suffering injustice from the higher classes, and leading a bare, miserable existence. Children born into such a society were not understood. Child nature was not understood. Both teachers and parents always tried to find the man in the child without considering what the child is before he becomes a man. The education of children was as superficial and unnatural as French society itself.

Against such conditions Rousseau rebelled with all the ferocity of his nature. He spoke not with the language of reason, as the rationalists spoke, but with the language of the heart. In striking contrast with the hollow culture of his time, he painted a picture of primitive man, of his innocence, freedom, and happiness as he came from the hand of God. Then he issued the call to mankind to return to its inalienable birthright of happiness and liberty. Such a philosophy electrified the age; it awakened a new hope and a new faith in the masses. Man was naturally free. He could shake off the conventionality and oppression of the ages and be again free and enjoy his humanity.

Although Rousseau's writings are filled with contradictions and absurdities, and the story of

his life is likely to arouse loathing and disgust, there is no doubt but what he found the key to the modern world. He stands at the beginning of a new epoch. He inaugurated the great movement of Naturalism.

This philosophy when applied to the practical problems of education meant that the aim of education had to be changed. Man was no longer to be trained to be an obedient subject, to follow blindly the rules and regulations of church and state and society in general. He was to be a free man. This was to be done by respecting the individuality of the child and allowing him to develop according to nature.

✓ The influence of Rousseau in both Germany and France was great. He cast his spell over the last half of the eighteenth century. All the educational reformers who came after him were subject to his influence. Basedow (1724-1780) and Pestalozzi (1746-1827), both of whom lived during the life of Herder, led the way toward the practical application of his educational theories in Germany.

Pestalozzi's whole life and personal activity were limited to Switzerland. His fundamental educational principles were essentially the same as those of Rousseau but he was a practical teacher. His greatest innovation perhaps was the introduction of objective teaching into the schools. Basedow was the leader of the "Philanthropic" movement. It was strongly realistic

and emphasized education according to nature. He tried to transform learning into amusing play and to make the school happy. Largely because of Basedow's incompetence, his school, the philanthropinum, came to an end. Although an apparent failure, it had a really strong influence. It called into being new educational institutions, espoused naturalism in learning, endeavored to train the emotions as well as the feelings, and prepared the way for a scientific pedagogy.

The aspirations for a fuller, freer, richer humanity first taught by Rousseau gave rise to the movements of New Humanism and Romanticism, each of which had its beginning during the age of Herder.

New Humanism was a rebirth of the renaissance. Like its predecessor it found its models of excellence in classical antiquity; but each movement had its characteristic differences. The old humanism longed to restore the culture and civilization of the Augustan age. It stimulated every phase of cultural development but concentrated itself chiefly on the revival and study of the classics. In the schools dominated by humanism, the classics were taken up at first with an appreciation from the point of view of history, æsthetics, morality, and good citizenship, but later the study of the Latin literature degenerated into an aping of Cicero. The greatest aim of Ciceronianism, so laughed at by Erasmus, was to speak and write in the language of Cicero. Eventually Latin was studied for purely linguistic purposes. In the eighteenth

century children still learned Latin in the schools because it was the language of the scholars but with none of its original enthusiasm, and the Latin that was taught was more or less barbarous. Greek was neglected except by those who were preparing for service in the church and then only in connection with the New Testament. The learning of a classical language was looked upon as a necessary evil. Since the spirit had flown nobody had any further interest in the dead bones. Means were sought only to shorten the pain.

Such were the conditions when the New Humanism appeared to infuse new life into the veins of the dying classical studies. The new movement was essentially Greek in spirit. It found its golden age in the palmy days of Athenian art, literature, and philosophy. The first renaissance having its early home in Italy was inspired by a romantic patriotism to restore the glories of ancient Italy and continue the work of the classical writers. The second renaissance springing from the soil of Protestant Germany found necessarily other reasons for the cultivation of the Greek language and literature. It hoped to catch the spirit of its genius and produce something of its own worthy of comparison. The new movement was heartily in sympathy with the ideals of Rousseau; but instead of finding its millennium in the age of primitive man, it discovered that the ancient Greek was the embodiment of the natural man.

True education was to be gained then only by accepting the ancient Greeks as models.

This enthusiasm for Hellenic culture is to be attributed to the peculiar conditions of the times. The age of enlightenment had tolerated Christianity, but had found it for the most part uncongenial. The Greek world seemed to offer a new religion, a more humanized religion, which enthroned idealized humanity in place of the Deity. Then there was the newly awakened national feeling which called upon the German peoples to rid themselves of French influence. New Humanism paved the way for an intellectual emancipation. Finally a more liberal and democratic spirit was in the air. The rising middle classes found allies in the Greeks against the courtly culture of the French and the education of the nobles. Thus borne on the tide of a feeling which was as broad and deep as society itself a new educational ideal was born.

In referring to Neo-Humanism, Professor Paulsen says: "It was thought to be the object of education to form the young on the Greek model, in mind and spirit at least, if it could not be done in physique and appearance; to imbue their minds with the Hellenic sentiment, with courage and energy to search after truth, with manly will power to uphold themselves against hostile forces without and within, with an enthusiastic love for all that is beautiful and perfect." (57, pp. 161-162.)

The New Humanism brought about a revolution

in the teaching of the classical languages. The emphasis was shifted from the form to the content. In the study of Cicero, for example, attention was paid to the author's thought, beauty of expression, and philosophy. The problem in the case of the traditional humanism had been to teach the pupils to read and speak in the language of Cicero with little reference to the times in which he lived or the thoughts which he expressed. New Humanism would have the pupils study Cicero, not that they might become copies of the Romans, but instead be stimulated to a broader development as Germans. Naturally owing to the source of the inspiration of this movement, the study of Greek was placed in the foreground, and, because of the rising national spirit, greater emphasis was laid on the vernacular.

New Humanism had its real beginning in Germany in Johann Matthias Gessner (1691-1761) at the University of Göttingen. Gessner was a philologist who had been strongly influenced by Rathke, Comenius, and Locke. He noticed with much concern the unquenchable hatred of the youth for Latin books. He believed that a change might come about by introducing easier and more natural methods of learning, as for example the teaching of language before the grammar, and by leading pupils to appreciate the works of the old masters because of their stimulating thought and polished style. In his philological seminary at Göttingen he educated the future teachers of the

gymnasia. He was an inspector of the schools of Brunswick-Lüneburg, and the new school regulations of that electorate were largely his own work. Although many of his ideas existed only on paper, he may be regarded as the beginner of the new-humanistic school instruction in Germany. His scholarship in philosophy, his interest in pedagogy, and his skill were sufficient guarantees of the success of the movement.

Gessner was followed by other philologists, Ernesti and Heyne, and finally by Friedrich August Wolf (1759-1824), the real master and creator of the science of antiquity in the modern sense of the word. Wolf was a critical scholar, a tireless worker, and a most enthusiastic teacher. As a professor of philology for twenty-three years (1783-1806) at the University of Halle, he stimulated a large body of students who afterwards became teachers in the gymnasia. He opened up a new heaven and a new earth in the ancient world of the Greeks. Wolf appeared at a crisis when it seemed as though the philanthropinists, with their demands that nothing should be taught in the schools that did not help in life, would gain the ascendancy and bring about a reform in the grammar schools in harmony with their principles. For the first time since the renaissance they had discredited the study of the classical languages. It is due not a little to Wolf that the march of this eminently practical philosophy was retarded and the classical languages were saved for culture. (56.)

At the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries New Humanism had conquered and the Prussian gymnasia were reformed in conformity with its ideals. The man who did more than anybody else to bring about this victory in the schools was Wilhelm von Humbolt (1767-1835), a lover of classical literature and one of the most remarkable men of his time. Although minister of education in Prussia for about a year (1809-1810), he succeeded in practically shaping its educational policy for a century.

But this rapid progress of New Humanism in the schools was made possible largely by a mighty force outside of the schools. The "dogma of classical antiquity," as it had been called in derision, was accepted by the greatest and best men; and out of this new understanding for Greek life a new German literature had developed. The entire spiritual life of Germany was saturated with the new conceptions of man and his possibilities. Filled with a new and powerful passion for humanity, men like Gottsched, Klopstock, Winckelmann, Lessing, Wieland, Herder, and the greatest among the great, Schiller and Goethe, threw off the yoke of French absolutism and gave Germany one of the greatest periods of literary activity known to history.

The impulse of a new age was also felt in the realm of pure philosophy. Immanuel Kant led the way to new discoveries in the realm of the inner life. The ideal of Rousseau to create a new

and better civilization by returning to the natural man, a return compatible with the highest honor, truth, and morality, found voice in this greatest of modern thinkers, although arrived at by wholly different methods. He conceived the true worth of man as being based not on outer show and conventionality, tinsel and gilt, but upon a righteous will. He gave to philosophy the categorical imperative—the command to act in such a way as you would have a world of moral agents act, or act as you would like to have everybody else act, so that such action might become the basis for a universal law. The great certainty of the moral law within filled Kant with a sense of awe comparable only to a contemplation of the starry depths of space. It furnished steel and iron for the German blood in a time of need, and is still the fount of greatest moral inspiration. To imbue the youth with the stern and uncompromising sense of duty, to train them to champion the cause of righteousness of their own free will, seemed to him to be the highest aim of education. To further the strenuous demands of duty, that alone, he contended, was a sufficient and rich reward for one's work.

Kant gave to the world, too, a new sense of spiritual freedom. He taught that the individual is able to build his own world. No matter what your condition in life, your world may become glorious if only you actively make it so. "Its spirituality is your own creation, or else is nothing.

Awake, arise, be willing, endure, struggle, defy evil, cleave to good, strive, be strenuous, be devoted, throw into the face of evil and depression your brave cry of resistance, and then this dark universe of destiny will glow with a divine light. Then you will commune with the eternal. For you have no relations with the eternal world save such as you make for yourself." (67, pp. 116, 117.) This sort of philosophy was a call to the individual to arise to self-mastery and self-realization. Kant believed that the world is not beyond us but is the deepest truth within us. As we master this truth we conquer the discordant tendencies of our own lives. This new movement in philosophy inaugurated by Kant is often called German Idealism. It expressed itself in the great men of letters of the age, and is so bound up with New Humanism that it is often frequently difficult to distinguish one from the other. Germany was so filled with this idealism that after the battle of Jena, when Prussia was almost destroyed by Napoleon, she was able to regenerate herself in a very short time.

In the latter part of the eighteenth century a new philosophical and literary movement arose which was opposed to rationalism and the idealism of the time. It exerted its strongest influence in the nineteenth century. With Kant it said the world is indeed the world as built by self-consciousness; but the real world is the world of the genius, the poet, the artist. It refused to interpret the world according to reason or the moral law,

but in terms of sentiment, emotion, and heart longings. Romanticism found its chief interest in man's wealth of divine emotions.

Like other intellectual movements which we have already referred to Romanticism had its origin in a dissatisfaction with the age; but it turned for its models of perfection not toward the primitive stage of man's existence or to the classical age but to the middle ages so despised by the New Humanists. The mediæval period of the Romantics was highly extravagant, lacking in historical authenticity and saturated with emotion. There is a certain frivolity and lack of seriousness in its philosophy which is often startling; yet it contributed much to the intellectual life of the times. Influenced by Rousseau it found delight in nature and tended to make the study of nature more popular. It called attention almost for the first time to the glory of Germany's past, stimulated the study of comparative philology, Indian philosophy, history, and Sanscrit, and led to a productive era in art, music, and poetry.

Jean Paul (1763-1825) as a poet stands on the border line between the classical and romantic periods of German literature. He was also a writer on education. To him the aim of education was the inner harmony of strength and beauty.


The schools were necessarily affected by all these intellectual movements. The Ritter-Akademien, which had been established under the French influence to provide an education for the

sons of the nobility so that they might be fit for the army and civil service, were fast disappearing before the rising national spirit. The French ideal of the *galant-homme* was becoming more and more unpopular. During the period of French courtly culture, the universities had fallen to such a low plane that the more vigorous minds kept away from them; by the end of the nineteenth century, they had gained the leading place in the educational world of Germany. The interest in theology had everywhere given way to the secular interests. In no institution was this perhaps more marked than in the university, where modern science and philosophy assumed a prominent place. This interest in secular things had led the state to take over the management and supervision of the schools, although this had been done without removing religious instruction or interfering with the rights of the various churches. Churchmen were frequently delegated by the state to do educational work, however, but in every educational institution the secular subjects were displacing the theological or religious. The tendency to use the vernacular was growing rapidly. In secondary education, as we have noted, the *realschule* had made its appearance and the *gymnasias* were being strongly influenced by the New Humanism. By 1794, in Prussia, at least, there was compulsory primary education, and the schools were being supported by common contribution. Professional training of teachers in the modern

sense of the word was practically non-existent although normal schools (*Lehrer-Seminare*) were just appearing, and often the ministers were expected to do something in the way of instructing the teachers. Probably the great majority of the teachers were poorly qualified to perform their duties. Sometimes the position of school-master was filled by the parish clerk, or, in the case of the smaller villages, by artisans who had had no educational advantages themselves beyond the village schools. It was the policy of Frederick the Great to appoint decrepit soldiers as school-masters thereby saving to the state the cost of maintenance.

The secularization of the schools was coincident with the other educational influences that began to compete with both school and church. The rising middle classes were becoming more interested in the reading of the secular books and magazines that were beginning to be published. Closely associated with this tendency was the rapidly growing influence of the theater, which had as its purpose not that of mere amusement but the improvement of the morals and the intellect. Of even greater importance to pedagogy was the publication of a large amount of juvenile literature.

A hasty survey of the tendencies and achievements of this age of Herder shows it to be pre-eminently an age of transition marked by the decline of many interests and the rise of others. At the beginning Pietism was on the wane while



Rationalism and Realism were in the ascendancy. Both of these were modified somewhat and gave way before the advance of the New Humanism and German Idealism. At the close of the century Romanticism begins to loom up in the foreground. The church gives way to the state and secular interests tend rapidly to displace those in theology. The distaste for the French influence helped to give birth to a national spirit expressing itself in a splendid national literature. The great minds were in search for and a realization of a new kind of civilization expressive of a free and pure humanity. The new ideal was rooted in the writings of Rousseau, in the study of antiquity, particularly the Greek, and in philosophy.

In anticipation of the chapters that are to follow, we might note briefly Herder's relationship to his time. Herder was the first to grasp the new ideal of culture in all its fullness, and the first to make use of this in his own teaching of the youth. The new ideal was the humanistic, the classical, and along with it was the romantic element with something of its wayward enthusiastic exuberance. The realism of Herder's age, however, protected him from all humanistic onesidedness and exclusiveness and gave his ideal the necessary nearness to earth. (27, p. 284.)

CHAPTER III

HERDER'S BOYHOOD AT MOHRUNGEN (1744-1762)

A Pious Home—A Crabbed Master—An Escape from Trescho.

The birthplace of Herder was in Mohrungen in East Prussia. Mohrungen was a small village having at the time of Herder about 1800 inhabitants, who were engaged in farming, gardening, cattle raising, and trading in yarn and linen. Like many other German towns it owed its existence originally to one of the powerful castles that had been built there to hold conquered territory. Its position between a lake to the south and a low mill pond to the north made its fortification easy. But during Herder's boyhood only the ruins of the castle and the remains of a Gothic church-tower remained to remind one of an historic past. The old city had long been destroyed. Beyond the village the forest stretched away to more lakes and swampy flats.

Amid such surroundings Herder was born on August 27, 1744, between eleven and twelve o'clock at night. With poetical imagination he always attributed the melancholy which ever brooded over him as due to the unseemly hour of his birth.

The atmosphere of Herder's home life was



Herder's Birthplace


saturated with a simple, strenuous, and undoubting piety which he breathed with every breath. His father, who had once been a weaver, was an elementary teacher in a girls' school which was located in his own house. As often happened at this time, he was also sexton and music director. Being a lover of children he threw himself into his calling with zest and enthusiasm. A man of few words, of strict regularity, and unflinching industry, he did his daily tasks with cheerfulness and unfailing devotion. So great was his reputation for honesty that he was often resorted to by his neighbors for counsel. From his father, Herder no doubt gained that uncompromising sense of devotion to duty which formed such a dominant trait in his character. But he seemed to have been drawn more closely to his mother because of her tenderness, sympathy, and imagination. In a song of reminiscences written during his university life, he says that his mother taught him how "to pray, to think, and to feel."

The Herder home was simple and maintained by scanty means through industry and economy. Its fundamental tone was far from being care free, but was penetrated throughout by a feeling of duty and piety. It was the custom after the work of the day was over for the family to meet together and sing a religious song. The Bible and the song book were the first food for Herder's spiritual nature, the beginning of all his instruction in music, philosophy, and poetry. Many an

opportunity was given him to memorize verses from the Bible and to sing the hymns in the old German hymn book. No matter how bad this musical instruction might have been, he learned to love melody and tone. So great were his achievements in this way that his friend Hamann, whom he met later at the university, confessed his envy of Herder because he could sing all the songs in the song book, both words and music, by heart.

Whatever virtues the home might have had, the spirit of happiness was not one of them. Herder seemed to be different from other children. He spent much of his time alone and was always grave and serious. He was never known to shout and play like other children. At the age of five he was afflicted with a fistula in his eye, which gave him endless trouble all his life and perhaps helped not a little to make him quite gloomy and despondent.

Herder received instruction in the elements of learning at home, and was then sent to the town school, which did not have a high standing, not being one of the few schools of the province that admitted pupils directly to the university. This school of about thirty boys, who were expected to learn something beyond mere reading and writing, was under the guidance of a schoolmaster named Grimm, a man as stern and authoritative as his name might imply. Possibly this school might be regarded as a fair sample of the average schools of Germany at this time. Let us tarry for a while



to get better acquainted with the school and the schoolmaster, as they will give us a better idea of Herder's life, the necessity of the school reforms which he furthered as a man, and the source of his own pedagogical ideas; for in all of his writings on education, we seem to see looming up in the background the sinister figure of Rector Grimm, whom he seems to be attacking most savagely. Grimm stood for nearly everything that he hated—tyranny, dry pedantry, and dogmatic learning.

Certainly Grimm was anything but attractive physically. He is represented as a man between 60 and 70 years of age with a very pale face which stood out in strong contrast with the black wig which he always wore. He suffered from a lame foot and lived alone, avoiding as much as possible all contact with men. He managed his school as if he were a military officer and his pupils were raw recruits. Respectful submission was the first law of the school. As soon as the pupils caught a glimpse of the schoolhouse they were to remove their hats and approach the rest of the distance with bared heads. In the schoolroom the rules were like iron, and the rod was ever in reach of the stern man, who literally drove the boys to work. He taught Latin quite thoroughly, some Greek, and a little Hebrew, although in the last two his limitations were marked. The lessons were devoted almost exclusively to grammatical study, the purpose being that of a command of the spoken and written language. The school

began at seven o'clock and lasted until four and sometimes five in the afternoon. During the saying of the lessons the pupils always stood, often as long as two hours at a time. Respectful obedience, physical endurance, and a good memory were the qualities that the pupils had to have to win distinction in the eyes of the master. Church music alone brought refreshment to Herder. Little wonder that the poor lads were filled with a loathing and disgust for Latin grammar, and that a silent hatred for the master pervaded the schoolroom. Even Herder, who had a real hunger for knowledge, referred to his Donatus as a "*Martyrbuch*," a book of martyrs. In after years it was a delight to him to vent his spleen on the dead method of teaching dead languages. Nevertheless Herder was deeply indebted to Grimm, which debt he was always willing to acknowledge. What he learned from Grimm was never to be forgotten.

With all of his severity, Grimm in his way showed a kind of sympathy for his pupils. Herder's thirst for knowledge, pleasing manners, and rapid progress made him one of Grimm's favorite pupils. In better days at another school it had been his ambition to prepare boys for the university. Such a hope he seemed to have for Herder, and it pleased him to give Herder private lessons in the Greek New Testament and Homer, and, so far as his knowledge went, in Hebrew. Baummeister's "*Compendium of Logic*" and the "*Com-*

plete Dogmatic" were also diligently pursued. Under the hard exterior of the village schoolmaster there seemed to be a suggestion of real human feeling. He loved to take his best pupils, four or five in number, with him on his walks, although they had to look for cowslips and speedwell for his tea, which he drank daily. To one or another of them who had especially pleased him, was given the distinction of being invited to come to his study and enjoy a cup of tea with one very small lump of sugar. In return for such an honor, the boy had to kiss the master's hand.

The picture we get of Grimm with his favorite pupils is truly not Socratic; but with all of its brutality, tempered now and then by a slight touch of the humane, such an association thoroughly awakened a desire to learn in the shy, bashful youth, who became even more shy and retiring. He developed such a passion for reading that his father forbade his bringing his books to his meals. His unquenchable love for reading was so great that not a book in the village was safe. As he walked along the streets, he kept his eyes open and, whenever he saw a book in the window, he would knock at the door and ask to borrow it. Then he would hie away to his father's garden or to the woods to read. He confided his hopes and plans for the future to no living human being. Nature was his only sympathetic friend. He himself tells us that he early avoided human society and dreamed of a new world in nature.

He listened to the songs of the birds in the forest, played, read, collected flowers, talked to himself, and builded worlds in nature from the books he had read. The narrowness of his life oppressed him. An intense feeling drove him on. He longed to escape from the pettiness and limitations of his own world to the larger one of fancy and imagination. He found a new world in himself, unrelated in a way to the outer world in which his parents, friends, and teachers lived. Throughout his life, the memories of his solitary walks through the forests of whispering trees and his boyish dreams were among the very few really happy reminiscences of his childhood.

But harder experiences were in store for the imaginative youth. When he was sixteen, a new curate by the name of Sebastian Friedrich Trescho was installed in the village church. His arrival was an event in Herder's life which was not altogether favorable for his development. Trescho, fresh from his studies at Königsberg where he had acquired a barren, pietistic philosophy and the slightest taste for higher literature, looked with contempt upon the idea of a native of Mohrun-gen engaging in study or entering a learned profession. On hearing that Herder had ambitions for the ministry, and that he had been encouraged by Rector Grimm and the old pastor, whom Trescho regarded as very rusty, he laughed at the idea and advised Herder's father and mother to have their son taught one of the trades. The

poverty of the parents and the weakness of Herder's eye seemed insurmountable obstacles toward the getting of a higher education. In the meantime until the boy should be old enough to learn a trade, he was to become Trescho's amanuensis and general servant. Those were bitter days! He was treated as a mere domestic who was expected to run errands, help in the house, and copy the books written by Trescho. This selfish, grouchy, egotistical hypochondriac had little thought for Herder or his parish or anything else but the writing of his superficial works filled with pietistic, morbid, and sentimental rubbish. Hamann, with delicious humor, called Trescho an "animal scribax." One of his works was entitled "The History of my Heart" (as if he had one) and another the "Bible of Death," a curious combination of prose and poetry which aimed to teach suffering humanity how to die happy. Any thought of making Herder happy had apparently never entered his head.

Oppressed by the harshness of Grimm, of whom he still took lessons, and by the tyranny of the morbid and pious Trescho, it is not strange that he longed for death to relieve him of his misery. In all Mohrungen there was nobody who really understood him. It is true his parents loved him and wished him well and Grimm recognized that he had ability to master the mechanics of the Latin grammar, but there was nobody who really entered into sympathy with his deeper

soul life. The shadows grew darker. He became more and more shy and reserved, seldom speaking above a whisper, and acquired a peculiar nervousness which remained with him in after life.

He never entirely forgave Trescho for his treatment of him during these years. In later years he refers to him with much scorn calling him "a pious tiger" and "the raven croaking out funeral melodies." The memory of those years was like a hideous nightmare. When speaking of the first impressions of his childhood he laments because they were mostly those of slavery which he would gladly forget by shedding drops of his own blood.

Still life in Trescho's house had its bright side. As Kühnemann has aptly put it: "If Trescho gave him a stone, his library gave him bread." It was a veritable treasure house for the imaginative boy, who found there many of the books which afterwards became his favorites for life. By the light of a candle bought from the meager allowance given him by Trescho, he read secretly until far into the night. He found Greek and Roman authors, books of travel, theological literature, and the new German poets, Kleist, Gellert, Uz, Klopstock, and Gleim. In the companionship of such minds, thank heaven, there was sympathy, feeling, and freedom.

Either because of his inherent dullness and egotism or through jealousy, Trescho refused to recognize the budding genius of the youth without

whose fame in the world of letters he himself would have been unknown to posterity. And opportunity was not wanting to make him realize that Herder was made of different stuff than that found in butchers, bakers, and carpenters. He found Herder reading the books in his library without ever giving him any encouragement. On the contrary he reproved him for wasting his time. Once when Herder had prepared a manuscript of Trescho's which was sent to the bookseller, Kanter at Königsberg, he secretly and anonymously put in between the leaves a poem of his own. Kanter acknowledged Trescho's manuscript and wrote that he had also found in the package another manuscript, unsigned, an ode purporting to be written by an ancient Jew to Cyrus. It was so full of emotion and spirit that it had been printed. The critics had received it favorably, and all Königsberg wished to know the name of the author. What did Trescho do? Nothing, except to accuse Herder of having interpolated the ode between the pages of his own manuscript. No further notice was taken of his literary aspirations. He continued to be just what he had been before. Trescho's sister, the housekeeper, continued to employ him in all sorts of domestic duties, while Trescho scolded as usual and apparently expected that Herder would take up some sort of trade.

To add to his trials, Herder lived in fear that he might be summoned to war, for his name had

been entered on the military lists of his district. The great campaigns of Frederick the Great had taken the flower of Prussian manhood. So pressing was the need of men that it did not seem improbable that even a weak boy like Herder might be called upon to help fill the broken ranks. Fortunately this did not happen; but Herder's fear of being enrolled as a soldier doubtless accounts to some extent for his subsequent horror of everything that had to do with war.

But an unexpected and welcome deliverance was at hand. A Russian regiment returning from the seven years war took up its winter quarters in Mohrungen. The regimental physician, Schwarz Erla, became acquainted with Herder and was convinced that his talents deserved to be developed. He offered to take Herder with him to Königsberg, to have his eye cured and to teach him surgery. If he took to medicine, he would see that he had still further advantages at St. Petersburg. In return for such kindness, Herder was to translate a medical work of his into Latin.

At last there was light amid the gloom. Early in the summer he set out with his deliverer for Königsberg, and bade farewell to Mohrungen, a last farewell, for he was never to see it again, farewell to the sleepy village, the old castle, the falling church tower, the woods, the pond, his parents, and Grimm and Trescho, and many unhappy hours. Beyond Mohrungen was liberty and a realization of some of his boyish dreams.

CHAPTER IV

STUDENT AND TEACHER AT KÖNIGSBERG (1762-1764)

Getting a Footing—The Influence of Kant and Hamann—
A Taste of the Riches of Life—A Born Teacher.

There is no doubt but what Herder fully expected to fulfill the hopes that the good Russian surgeon had for him, although the proposed study of medicine had probably never appealed to him except as it offered an opportunity to escape from the miseries of Mohrungen. Whatever might have been in his mind, Fate had not decreed that he should wield a surgeon's knife. At the very first operation which he attended he fell into a deep swoon. The thought of continuing the study of medicine was utterly distasteful to him, and finally, to the great disgust of Schwarz Erla, it was abandoned.

What was he to do now? A return to Mohrungen was impossible. Having breathed the air of liberty once, a return to slavery was unthinkable. While in this perplexed state of mind he met an old schoolmate whom he had known in childhood who was at this time about to be ordained to the ministry. At his suggestion Herder took and passed the required examinations before the Dean of Theology with honor, and on August 10, 1762, he was admitted to the Univer-

sity of Königsberg as a student of theology. All this was done without the consent of his parents, contrary to the advice of Schwarz Erla, and without any funds or any prospect of getting any, but, taking pride in his newly felt independence, he wrote to his parents that he would not accept a single shilling from them. He would rely solely on his own resources.

But in his need help was not lacking to further his desire for learning. First of all his friends in Mohrunen, even including grouchy Trescho, sent him a small sum. A little later he also secured a stipendium to which he was entitled as a native of Mohrunen. These alone, however, were insufficient for his maintenance. His early struggles were severe, and often he found it difficult to keep body and soul together. Then he was fortunate enough to get a position as teacher in the Collegium Fredericanum, an institution which had been founded by and was then under the control of the Pietists. This school was a Latin school with a boarding house attached. The boys were usually arranged in pairs in their boarding home, where they worked under the eyes of inspectors, who received room, heat and light for their services. Often there was an opportunity for them to give private lessons. Herder was successful in becoming one of these inspectors. By means of the private contributions which he received from time to time from his friends he was able to go on with his studies.

Thus at the age of 17 Herder found himself free from the hardest pinch of poverty and with a chance to develop his own life as he saw fit.

A new world was opened up to Herder—a vast world of books and men. Possibly the direct contact with other minds was of greatest value, for at Mohrungen he had lived too closely within the pages of books and in his own introspections, and had neglected all cultivation of the social graces. He had been so bound up within himself that actual world affairs and living men had been of slight consequence in his thinking. Most of the time he would probably have been glad to know that some of them never existed.

✓ Kanter's bookstore was Herder's favorite resort. As the author of the "Song to Cyrus" he received a hearty welcome. Here he met some of the most distinguished literary and scientific men of the city. As soon as the mail arrived the new books which were received were placed on a large table for inspection. About 11 o'clock the scholars gathered to see the new works and chat about the news of the day. Here Herder read for hours, frequently for half days at a time, absorbing much through his reading and conversation; for Kanter's shop in a small way was an expression of the intellectual interests of the century. One of Herder's friends who often met him at this rendezvous, one Kurella, describes him as "a walking dictionary," and as a man who had a "great soul that embraced the universe."

Herder was matriculated at the University of Königsberg as a student of theology, but his spiritual interests were too broad to find complete satisfaction in so narrow a field. Haym says that his theological studies offered him what was partly meaningless and partly old; for the theological books in Trescho's library had made him fairly familiar with the point of view of the men who taught theology. Whatever he might have gained from such studies it seems true that they were of comparative insignificance in his own development. Certain it is that while at Königsberg Herder came into possession of that philosophy of life which he was to hold with little modification to the end of his career. The two men who exerted the greatest influence over him during these formative years were Immanuel Kant and Johann Georg Hamann.

Perhaps there has been no student of modern times who has shown a more thoughtful appreciation for a teacher than Herder of Kant. It was probably through Kanter that Herder was introduced to Kant, who seemed to have quickly recognized his gifts, and invited him to his lectures free of charge, although at this time he was only a privat-docent giving lectures at his own house to those who could come and pay the fee.

On August 21, 1762, Herder heard Kant for the first time. Before leaving Königsberg he attended all of his lectures on logic, metaphysics, moral philosophy, mathematics, and physical

geography. Philosophy, he said, was his favorite study. At this time Kant was thirty-eight years of age, in the flower of his strength, intent in working out a new basis for philosophy. It was not only what he said, but also his method of handling problems that appealed to the imaginative Mohrunge lad. He who seemed to have been born to think in terms of the universal, found a new world of freedom and inspiration in Kant. In his honor he wrote verse after verse. In describing the time when he was in bondage he wrote:—

✓ "Then came Apollo, the God.

My chains broke—my earthly joys soared high—
he gave me Kant."

✓ Herder's description of Kant as a teacher, written years afterwards when they had become bitterly opposed to each other, gives a vivid picture of the great philosopher of those days. Herder wrote: "Once I enjoyed the happiness of knowing a philosopher who was my teacher. In the prime of life he had the joyous cheerfulness of youth. His open forehead, built for the home of thought, was the seat of unfailing merriment and joy; speech of the richest thought flowed from his lips; irony, wit, and humor were ready at his call, and his method of instruction was the most entertaining intercourse. With just the same spirit in which he examined Leibnitz, Wolff, Baumgarten, Crusius, and Hume, or followed

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out the physical laws of Kepler and Newton, he would turn to the writings of Rousseau that were then coming out, his 'Emile' and 'Héloïse,' as well as to every natural discovery that came to his ears, would test their worth, and always return to the unrestrained knowledge of nature and the moral worth of man. The history of men and nations, natural philosophy, mathematics, and experience were the sources by which he gave life to his lectures and conversation; nothing that was worth knowing was indifferent to him; no clique, no sect, no personal advantage nor ambition had the slightest charm for him against the future extension and explanation of truth. He cheered us on, and urged us pleasantly to think for ourselves; despotism had no place in his thoughts. This man whom I name with the greatest gratitude and respect, was Immanuel Kant."

This great tribute penned after a lapse of many years conveys a faint impression of the prominent place that Kant had in Herder's life. The simple, yet masterly way in which the great teacher treated scientific problems kindled his poetic fancy. Once after Kant had discussed with much feeling the topics of time and eternity, Herder turned his ideas into verse in the style of Haller or Pope, favorite poets of Kant. This poem the master read the next morning in the auditorium with hearty approval.

Kant was not at this time in possession of his critical doctrine, but still followed in the track

of Locke and Hume. The two chief problems of later thought, those of natural science and the moral world, were, however, then arising in his mind. As an independent pupil of Newton he taught the mechanical development of the planetary system. He no longer believed in the worn-out systems of philosophy taught in the schools, in a dogmatic kind of metaphysics that sought to reveal the world as logical necessity. Just as Newton had succeeded in establishing certain fundamental and lasting principles in natural science, so he tried by similar means, by basing his conclusions on known facts, to analyze the mental world, to get at the physics of the soul. One observation of Kant was of great importance to Herder. Kant saw man as a natural being dependent on his natural environment. This thought Herder accepted in toto; it became one of the corner stones of his philosophy. At this time, too, Kant was under the influence of Rousseau. It is reported that this methodical, machine-like philosopher, whose life was so regular that according to Heine the good people set their watches by his activities, forgot his daily walk for the first and only time in his absorption over the pages of Rousseau's "Emile." One lasting impression was made on him by Rousseau, and that was that the outer achievements of man were not of the greatest value; that which was of most worth was in the invisible realm of the soul. Kant's interest in Rousseau was com-

municated to Herder and colored his view of the world and his pedagogical ideas.

Unfortunately for Herder he never outgrew some of the ideas on philosophy which he gained at this time. In later years he remained a disciple of Kant of the year 1765. This could, of course, mean but one thing—a break with Kant, whom it was impossible for him to understand.

A man who influenced Herder during these Königsberg days even more than Kant, in a more lasting and personal sense, was Johann Georg Hamann, known as the Magus of the North. Although fourteen years older than Herder he became his close friend and teacher, and this friendship was one of the few which continued through life.

In Hamann we find centered the various movements of resistance to rationalism. This type of philosophy had made a conquest of the intellectual world, and, with self-complacency, looked upon its work and called it good. The millennium of life was a paradise guided solely by reason; that was sufficient unto itself for everybody at any time and under every condition. Reason was regarded as the only measure of the values of life. With contempt it turned to the past to see mirrored there the gloom, fanaticism, and ignorance due to irrationalism! This brand of philosophy was quite important, thoroughly dogmatic, and quite unsympathetic with historical thought. The world was to be created anew by man's power of reason.

Hamann knew that all the best of his spiritual nature had a source other than of his reason. It sprang from the depths of his spiritual life. Faith, not knowledge, seemed to him to be the driving power of life. He looked with contempt on the effort of the rationalists to elevate one power of the human mind far above all the others. Hamann believed that to understand life we should consider it not in divisions but as a whole. Kühnemann says of Hamann: "He represented the emotions against the reason, the personal against the universal, faith against understanding, life against form, the unity of humanity against mere reason." In the emotions he found the great springs of the spiritual life, poetry, religion, philosophy, etc. Hamann maintained that God revealed himself to man through nature and history, which were to be interpreted with all the power of man's mind. Language and poetry to him sprang from the fullness of entire humanity. Poetry was not an expression of the needs of a man of genius, but of the people as a whole.

The hours that Herder spent with Hamann were precious moments. Hamann taught him English and introduced him to Shakespeare and Milton and many other writers. It is easy to picture the youth Herder eagerly drinking in the words of a man who had a genuine affection for him, and the satisfaction of Hamann, who found a joy in giving help and inspiration. They also studied Italian together. While both were familiar

with the song books and Bible, Hamann led his pupil to read the scriptures in a new light.

Besides bringing Herder into a new world of men and books his two years at Königsberg gave him a real opportunity to show his genius for teaching. At the beginning of his work in the Collegium Fredericanum Herder was assigned to teach the German classes and the elementary classes. Recognizing his knowledge and his teaching ability, he was speedily promoted to take charge of the classes in Hebrew, Greek, French, and mathematics. In 1764 he was intrusted with the Latin and poetry of the first class and history and philosophy of the first class. Haymn tells us that such rapid progress for so young a man was clearly without example.

We know little about the Collegium Fredericanum at this time. It had been founded by the Pietists, and while Herder was there it was controlled for the most part by men of that faith who were limited in their sympathies and vision. Their shortcomings, however, did not seem to interfere to any great extent with Herder's teaching activities. His teaching ability of first rank combined with his stern sense of duty probably inspired confidence, although there were now and then faint murmurings from the pedants that this man's respect for the Latin grammar was not above suspicion.

Fortunately we have enough knowledge of Herder's life during this period to know that this

stripling from the country town of Mohrungeu infused new life into a drowsy school. The story is told that one day an inspector remarked to Herder that it was becoming the dignity of a teacher in his position to wear a wig. Herder replied that as for himself he found his own hair cheaper. Whether this anecdote be true or not, it is at least true to the spirit of his whole life, and there seems to be little reason for doubting it. The story shows Herder's love for naturalness and his disdain for meaningless forms and traditions. This naturalness of personality along with the feeling of the living value of what he taught made his work as a teacher most successful. When his turn came to catechise in the chapel on Sunday he found the room filled with listeners eager to hear what he had to say. Over the pious pedantry which engulfed him on all sides, a specter of his youth seemed to hover. Here was a glorious chance to strike much that had oppressed him during his boyhood at Mohrungeu; here was a chance to combat the ideas and methods of both Grimm and Trescho, and, what was of more importance, to express himself. He was little concerned in his own teaching with the knowledge of words and rules, the forms of grammar. Latin poetry had been written by living men under actual world conditions. Latin poetry under his guiding hand became a living thing expressing the life of the poet and the Roman world in which he lived. His boyish appearance, sincerity, and

simplicity of manner, originality of ideas, buoyant enthusiasm, and earnestness and sympathy with youth made him a great favorite with his pupils.

Two *Schulreden*, one by a pupil evidently inspired by Herder, and another by himself, shows that he was uncompromisingly opposed to the prevailing methods and aims in classical learning and heartily in favor of the cultivation of the mother tongue.

It was a source of satisfaction to Herder that Providence had seen fit to lead him so early in life into the teaching profession. His first rather brief experience showed that he was a born teacher and educator; he had what was almost a passion for giving out knowledge to others. Referring to his first experience in teaching, he mentions with gratitude some of the results of his teaching upon himself; it led to the development of many ideas and a clearer conception of their meaning. It was a new joy to work with living humanity and express the ideas which were tumbling over themselves for expression. He found himself in his teaching, and gained thereby a better mastery of self.

Late in the autumn of 1764 Herder was called to Riga as an assistant (colloborator) in the cathedral school. With that restlessness and discontent which were so characteristic of his whole life, he was glad to leave behind him the city where, as he said, he had "studied, taught, and dreamed." He was leaving Königsberg and

his Prussian home gladly to find greater independence and liberty. Before his departure he took his oath that he would return in case he was wanted as a soldier. This experience left with him a permanent hatred for the military despotism of Prussia.

The influence of the years spent at Königsberg was great. He had come to the university city as a shy awkward boy wrapped up in himself and his vague dreams; he went away a mature man. Trescho, who paid him a visit at Königsberg, was surprised to find him so greatly changed; his timidity had disappeared, and his manners had become even courtly. During these two years he had met the real world of men, and had made himself a leader. He had sat at the feet of great teachers, had taught with brilliancy, read omnivorously, and outlined many of the literary works which he afterwards wrote. Hamann, who recommended Herder for a position at Riga, wrote to Pastor Linder that he had the free soul of a Vergil. Among all of his acquaintances he was regarded as a youthful genius who was destined to distinguish himself as a poet, teacher, preacher, or man of science. The world beyond Königsberg, beginning with Riga, was to show what he was really worth.

CHAPTER V

TEACHER AND PASTOR AT RIGA (1764-1769)

A Quaint Town—A Commercial Atmosphere—Growing Popularity—First Adventures in Literature—Despondency—Departure.

For a young man of Herder's talents and radical ideas on education, Riga was not unfavorable soil. It was a quaint old town with narrow, twisted streets hemmed in by walls and towers. It lay to the north and east from Königsberg about 200 miles, and was at this time under the rule of Russia. Riga had passed successively into the hands of Sweden, Poland, and after an awful siege had finally surrendered, half in ruins, to Peter the Great. When Herder arrived, Riga had recovered from its disasters and was enjoying peace and prosperity under the Russian empire. Being well let alone by this powerful government its enthusiasm for Russia was marked.

Riga's past was full of inspiration. Nearly six centuries before this time it had been founded by Bishop Adalbert with the assistance of merchants from Bremen as the headquarters of the Order of the Brethren of the Sword. Later this organization was united with the Teutonic Knights. The citizens of Riga were proud of the fact that Riga had once belonged to the famous Hanseatic

League, but her history did not arouse any patriotism in the ordinary meaning of the word. Like many of the towns on the Baltic it cared little about who ruled so long as it enjoyed commercial prosperity.

Although under Russian domination Riga was true to the best traditions of her past. Her citizens were interested chiefly in commerce and trade, and her citizens, although more or less cosmopolitan, generally spoke the German language. At heart Riga was still German.

The atmosphere of Riga was decidedly commercial in tone, and Herder naturally missed the literary influences to which he had been accustomed at Königsberg; but in one way the place offered an excellent opportunity to young Herder. It was dissatisfied with the conventional education of the day, and desired something more practical. In his entire career he found no field of labor so free from pedantry as Riga. He was to give its future merchants instruction in natural philosophy, history, geography, French, mathematics, and practice in writing. Here was a splendid chance for him to work out some of his revolutionary ideas in education. Here he need not feign respect for the Latin grammar or be careful about wounding the feelings of the Pietists. His training under Kant and others at Königsberg had given him a splendid preparation for his work.

On June 2, 1765, he was publicly installed in

his position along with the new rector Schlegel, who had succeeded Pastor Linder. On this occasion he delivered a speech in which he proposed the question, "How far even in a School Must Grace Prevail?" Recklessly he attacked the schools and schoolmasters as they then existed. It was probably the memory of Grimm that lent vividness and color to his picture. The teacher that he had in mind as an example of what ought not to be was of the dry-as-dust variety, without politeness of speech, or suavity of manner, a pedant whose knowledge began with the Latin grammar of Donatus, "our first book of martyrs," and ended with a barren scholastic attempt at ontology, a terror to the youth, a jailer who faced his prisoners (pupils) and compelled them to sit and learn by heart. Such trash as is learned by the boys, he said, should be forgotten by them if they are ever to become men of the world. In most cases men forget such rubbish, and their minds are recast by the world. The ideal teacher, he affirmed, was a man of polished manners and good behavior. While he should be well versed in what he was going to teach, extraordinary learning was not so necessary, in fact, it might divert the teacher's mind to other things than his work. Above all the true teacher should inspire the children to get thorough knowledge by making the school life attractive—that is the kind of grace that every man needs to be a perfect teacher; he needs to have a living, human relationship with

his pupils. Continuing, he openly deplored the value put on the study of the ancient languages, and emphasized the importance of the study of the mother tongue.

This scathing criticism of the commonplace pedagogue of that day by a youth of twenty-one must have been a blow from which his colleagues, conforming to the professional etiquette of the time, never recovered, and probably accounts to some extent for their hostility. However unfortunate he might have been in this relationship there is no doubt but what some of his ideals were realized in his teaching. He wished his pupils to get a grasp of the realities of life, of things most worth while, and there is abundant evidence from their reports that he was successful.

At the very beginning Herder found his living accommodations convenient, and his salary sufficient for his wants, but for the first few months of his stay in Riga he felt himself somewhat forsaken amid the bustling commercial life of the old town as any man of scholarly tastes might feel among people interested in and engaged in making money. He complained that the doors of the best people were closed to him. But they were ready to be opened to genius. The private lessons which he gave to the sons and daughters of the best families soon made him the friends of the parents. He was soon much sought after as an honored and beloved friend. He adapted himself admirably to the mercantile atmosphere,

while at the same time he never lost sight of the highest ideals of culture. One of his delights was to visit the wealthy merchants in their beautiful country houses and enjoy their hospitality. Frequently he rewarded them by writing poems in honor of their dwelling or their generosity.

Hartknoch's home was one of the homes where he found greatest enjoyment. Hartknoch was a bookseller and publisher but lately come to Riga. He and his wife were so bright and cheerful and entertaining that his household was most attractive. Here in the evening Herder met congenial friends, most of whom were interested in the best literature and in the things belonging to the mind. Herder seemed to assume the leadership naturally. One of the delights of the company was to listen to his reading from Klopstock's "Messiah" or extracts from some new book. The memory of these evenings were among the happiest of his life.

For a time all went well. Herder, although he had never been in robust health, was now unusually strong in body and optimistic in spirit. His social standing in the community was satisfactory, his friendships profitable and pleasant, and his literary aspirations unclouded. He led a life which brought him into contact with many people of the town, which began to look upon him as an intelligent man-of-the-world rather than as a schoolmaster. His interest in the public spirit of the place was great, and at one time he even thought of a revival of the Hanseatic

League with Riga at its head. But in all his thinking and planning Herder had for that age a peculiar idea of patriotism. He was ever interested in the development of German language and literature, but he never regarded any nation as better than another. Inspired by Rousseau he dreamed of a universal brotherhood, and the dawning of a day of peace. Throughout his life he was advocating plans for the organization of international peace societies.

Trouble was brewing for Herder, however. The pastor Schlegel under whom he worked was "a hidebound creature," and he was surrounded by "envious persons, malignant, miscreant, pitiful blockheads." To one of Herder's sensitive nature, peace and serenity for a long period of time was virtually impossible. He finally fell ill, and for a long time he was not expected to live. When he was on the way toward recovery he decided to let the physicians of Riga try to cure his eye. For eight whole weeks he had to deny himself reading or writing or going out. He bade farewell to his friends by letter and courageously faced his ordeal, comforted by what proved to be a forlorn hope that his sight might be made normal. The outcome served only to increase his despondency almost to despair.

Before recovering from illness Herder received a most flattering offer from St. Petersburg urging him to accept the post of inspector in the Lutheran school of St. Peter. His fame as a teacher had

traveled abroad, and this offer was really a tribute to his talents; but Herder, although he would gladly have escaped the petty malice and spite of Schlegel and others, hesitated to give up his time to administrative duties and responsibilities that would be irksome and to lose his leisure for thinking and writing. While he was turning the matter over in his mind, the news spread among the people of Riga, who beseeched him with tears in their eyes not to leave them. His popularity was at its height, and within a short time after he received his letter, the city government, conscious of what a loss the town would sustain if Herder accepted the new position, voted to establish a special kind of post, that of Pastor Adjunctus for two suburban churches. Herder had already passed his examination for preaching. He felt that in the long run the ministry was more to his liking than teaching. After submitting to still another examination, he was duly installed in his new post.

Herder's preaching like his teaching had as its aim a fuller and richer humanity. He despised the mechanical Christian who observed dead symbols and failed to learn the great truths of life. Unlike other men in his profession, he did not preach continuously in the language of the Bible. The deeper truths of Christianity were translated into the language of everyday life. He painted pictures of actual life, situations in the great world of humanity, which would teach

his hearers the best ideals and the noblest kind of action. Although Herder preached in the afternoon and in the suburbs, the people crowded to hear him. They were thirsty for the realities of a human Christian life.

Even while at Mohrungen Herder had begun to draw up outlines for future writings, and this kind of work still went on while he was at Königsberg. It was at Riga that he first had the opportunity and leisure to take up the work of authorship in earnest. In the year 1766-1767 he published "Fragments on the New German Literature." Although written anonymously, its authorship soon leaked out, and Herder was at once recognized as one of the foremost literary critics of Germany. The "Fragments" were like a bugle call sounding an advance. Basing his arguments on the history of literature, he showed the futility of imitating the French or Roman literature. Practically all European culture, he affirmed, was an imitation of the Roman and that was an imitation of the Greek, which was largely original. The Greek literature should therefore be studied in preference to the Roman not to imitate the Greek, but rather to find out how the Greeks expressed themselves with such naturalness and finish. The true genius of a people was bound up with their language. No people writing in a foreign tongue had ever presented anything but a sorry spectacle. Real literature is an expression of the life of the people,

and can be understood only when it is seen in relation to the general physical, social, and religious conditions in which they lived. With a wealth of illustration Herder criticised contemporary writers for their servility, pointed out the beauty of the German language, and made an appeal for a German literature which would express the real life and genius of the German people. The folk songs, being natural and expressing the moods and longings of the people, he regarded as splendid literary expressions.

The "Fragments" naturally aroused some criticism, the style especially being referred to as Hamann's cant. Herder, always sensitive to criticism, rushed into print with his "Kritische Wälder," "Forests of Criticism," to slay his adversaries. He had hoped to remain unknown until he produced something worthy of himself; but his name was mentioned openly as the author of the new work. In vain did he deny that he had anything to do with it. The critics were not to be deceived. Hamann, in great disgust, wrote that Herder's public denial of the "Wälder" had angered all his friends.

Herder was in distress. Surrounded by jealous colleagues, misunderstood by his friends, suffering from bodily ills, and realizing the lack of harmony between his outer and inner self, he decided to leave Riga. Although implored by the people of Riga to stay, or at least promise to return, he preached his farewell sermon. Riga had loved

and appreciated him, as he intimated, even more than he deserved. He was not leaving because of displeasure or in answer to another call, but solely that he might see the world from many sides and to become more useful. He wished to study educational systems in various countries, and to broaden his general knowledge. The government offered him one attractive post after another to induce him to stay, but he steadily refused. Furniture and books were sold to raise money, his friends came to his rescue with their contributions, and in due time he was ready to take his departure. He went on board ship little caring whither he went. Amid a terrific storm he left Riga with all its petty vexations and many happy memories—never to return. Restless and dissatisfied he was launching on the great expanse of life's ocean in search of experience that would help him to know the world better.

CHAPTER VI

HERDER'S WANDERJAHRE (1769-1771)

In Foreign Lands—Meets Men of Letters—A Traveling Companion for a Spoiled Prince—First Meeting with Goethe at Strassburg—An Operation—The Call to Bükeburg.

It was a feeling of dissatisfaction with the contradictions in his own life, and the consciousness that he was hampered by meaningless forms, which he had ceased to respect, that led Herder to forsake Riga. He was in search of the deeper realities of life which he felt could not be gained from books. He wanted time to think, to discover where he was, and to dream. The change from the study, pulpit, and schoolroom to the new life on board ship aroused new thoughts and ambitions and inspired a stronger feeling of confidence in his destiny. The vastness of the sea, the roll of the ship, the songs of the sailors, the fleeting clouds, the sportive play of the dolphins, and the fogs and sunsets and storms gave peace and freedom to his soul. In memory he reviewed his whole life, and gave himself over to an introspection of the secret recesses of his soul. He likewise reviewed the past of the race, and dreamed great dreams of a new kind of education—a humanized culture.

He started while on this voyage a diary, the "Journal meiner Reise," which was later com-

pleted at Nantes. Unlike most accounts of this kind, it was devoted less to the events of the voyage than it was to his own idealistic meditations. In this somewhat disconnected ramble over a number of topics he considered almost everything from the problems of education to idle speculations on the consciousness of the fishes which followed the ship. A large part of the diary, however, was devoted to a detailed description of what he conceived to be a perfect school. In subsequent chapters Herder's ideas on education will be discussed more fully. We can only say in passing that the kind of school described was practically in every way the direct opposite of the one he attended at Mohrungen. He pictured a school in which there should be genuine sympathy between teacher and pupils. This new type of school was not to concern itself with anything that was dead, empty, or pedantic, but with actual observations of what pertained to life. The teaching of things rather than words was the keynote of all that he had to say on education. The child should use all his senses, and get a grasp of the actual living world surrounding him. Culture to Herder was something having life and vitality based on personal experience. After reading many of the selections from his *Journal*, it would be easy to imagine that Herder lived in our generation and was leading a crusade against some of the evils of present day education. "Leben," life, was to him the true goal of all

human endeavor. He has a message for our day as he did for the world over a century ago.

Throughout the *Journal* it is easy to discern the strain of dissatisfaction that Herder had with himself and the world. Yet his pity for himself was only for himself as a more or less typical citizen of the world in which he lived. He saw himself as one of the men of Germany who talk and write and criticise but fail to do. A longing filled his soul for the external world of business, society, and polite ways. He attempts to accustom his mind to the spirit of action rather than to that of mere writing, and in his dreams he pictures himself as a reformer and portrays a new social order. Away from Riga his thoughts return to her with affection. He remembers her barbaric splendor, and he longs to build it anew. "How wonderful it would be," he exclaims, "if I could only make a happy city out of Riga."

Thus occupied with the building of air castles and writing and reading the weeks went by, a little tediously toward the last, until finally, after a voyage of six weeks, the ship made port at Painbeuf, France, and, continuing up the river the next day, left Herder at Nantes.

Here Herder tarried for about three months to rest. He was in poor health, and apparently underwent another eye-operation. Much of his time was consumed with the study of the French language, which, in spite of his past study of French literature, he could not understand. He

read widely all the French writers from Voltaire, Fréron, and Fontenelle to Montesquieu and Rousseau and the Encyclopædists, then in the height of their glory.

✓ Paris was the next point of interest in his itinerary. There he saw at close range the culture which up to that time had been the ideal of the Germans. In a short time he had made the acquaintance of the literary circle of Paris which was composed of men like Diderot, D'Alembert, Thomas, and Duclos. All of them were ignorant of German philosophy and literature. The Parisian standards of culture were far from satisfying to Herder. He detected in all their boasted superiority a "make-believe," a trickery. French literature was so polished that its content was lost. The compilation of dictionaries and encyclopædias seemed to him to be also an inferior kind of work, indicating the decay of a famous civilization. His hope for the emancipation of German literature from French influence was strengthened by all that he heard and saw. We might naturally expect to find in his correspondence some suggestions of the rumbling of a storm in France which was to overturn the existing status of society; his failure to recognize this suggests that his search for reality was a search which was confined largely to the realms of his own consciousness, although he visited the galleries, museums, and other places of interest.

Herder had been in Paris little more than a

week when he received a letter from Pastor Resewitz inviting him to travel three years with the prince-bishop of Lübeck's eldest son to give him instruction. Herder had hoped to visit many of the courts of Europe before returning to Riga. Accepting such an offer would possibly make such plans impossible; but then he was existing on borrowed money, and he had a longing for independence. This feeling finally led him to a decision and he accepted the offer.

The months that followed passed almost in triumph. Herder visited Holland and Hamburg, where he became acquainted with distinguished men of letters, notably Lessing and Claudius. Finally he reached the university town of Kiel, where he met the young prince and his Hofmeister. His pupil was clever and soon became attached to him, but he was given to attacks of introspection and despondency, with a tendency toward religious mania. Herder with his brilliancy of mind and keen sense of reality tried to aid him as best he could; but he soon found that all of his efforts were practically blocked by the surly Hofmeister. Yet there was much at the court of Eutin to enjoy. A man of Herder's intellectual vivacity, fresh from his travels, an able teacher, an eloquent preacher, a distinguished writer, who brought new life to the court was unusual. It is true that the parsons were suspicious of his orthodoxy; but to the unlearned his sermons possessed an unusual interest and comfort. It was ever the

lot of this man who tried to be natural and world-like in his appearance and philosophy that he was destined to be forever misunderstood by the rank and file of the theologs.

Those days at Eutin were pleasant memories in after years. The castle, the sea, the herds, and the green meadows soothed and rested a mind more or less troubled by his uncertain destiny.

The time finally came for Herder and the young prince, accompanied by his rude Hofmeister, to set out on their travels. Herder was apprehensive of the whole plan, and was persuaded to go only on the condition that he be allowed to quit the party whenever he chose. This being agreed to, the party started for Hamburg, Hanover and Cassel, where Herder enjoyed especially the collections and galleries, and after an uneventful month of travel the party arrived in Darmstadt. Here the drama of his life reached its highest point, for he met and fell in love with Karoline Flachsland, who afterwards became his wife. She is described by all of Herder's biographers as being a woman of splendid character, and the best helpmeet whom he could have chosen. Their courtship was simple and natural and full of sentiment (as was quite common over a century ago); but after declaring his love in a straightforward way he left Darmstadt without giving her much encouragement as to their future relationship. Herder doubtless felt that his future was so uncertain

that it was unwise to carry the matter further. Karoline finally protested most pointedly and vigorously against such treatment.

Another problem at this time added to Herder's uneasiness. Before leaving Eutin, he had received a letter from Bückeburg offering him the place of head-preacher on advantageous terms. With his usual inability to decide, Herder put the letter aside for circumstances to solve. But while at Darmstadt he received a second letter from Bückeburg pressing him for an answer. Herder was in a dilemma. If he accepted, it would be necessary for him to give up the ideas of reform that he had contemplated so religiously, and also his proposed trip to Italy and his return to Riga; yet he felt that it was about time for him to be getting a foothold in life. Possibly he might wish to support another besides himself. Finally he wrote in reply that if he could be relieved of his present tutorship, and if he might be permitted to continue his travels further, possibly as far as Italy, he would accept.

In bewilderment over his love affairs and his future, Herder left Darmstadt with his charge and eventually reached Strassburg. Here he received a letter from Bückeburg notifying him of the acceptance of his conditions and urging him to come as soon as possible. At Strassburg Herder probably experienced the darkest hours of his Wanderjahre. To begin with he was a man of unusual sensitiveness, driven to extremes

and ever apprehensive of the future. The overbearing Hofmeister with his exactness for court etiquette, which Herder hated, became most unbearable; Karoline's letters too became more and more chilly. Added to these misfortunes Herder was induced through the fame of Professor Lobstein, a distinguished surgeon of Strassburg, to have his eye operated upon again for the seventh time. A complete cure was promised in three weeks; but, after long weary months of waiting accompanied by gloom and suffering, a cure was pronounced impossible.

Herder's stay at Strassburg was of great importance for the development of German literature; because he met there a young man of twenty-one who was to exert a tremendous influence on German thought. His name was Johann Wolfgang Goethe. Although he knew practically nothing about Herder, after making his acquaintance, he found his mind so fascinating that he became a daily visitor at his sick room. Goethe's description of Herder is most interesting, especially since there is no photograph of him at this time. Goethe says:—

✓“Our society, as soon as his presence there was known, felt a strong wish to get near him; which happiness, quite unexpectedly and by chance, befell me first. I had gone to the hotel zum Geist, visiting I forget what stranger of rank. Just at the bottom of the stairs I came upon a man, like myself about to ascend, whom by his

look I could take to be a clergyman. His powdered hair was fastened up into a round lock, the black coat also distinguished him; still more a long black silk mantle, the end of which he had gathered together and stuck into his pocket. This in some measure surprising, yet on the whole gallant and pleasing figure, of whom I had already heard speak, left me no doubt that it was the famed traveler (arrival rather as we say); and my address soon convinced him that he was known to me. He asked my name, which could not be of any significance to him; however, my openness seemed to give pleasure, for he replied to it in a friendly style, and as we stepped upstairs forthwith showed himself ready for a lively communication. I have forgotten whom we visited; anyhow, before separating, I begged permission to wait upon himself, which he kindly enough accorded me. I delayed not to make repeated use of this preference, and was more and more attracted towards him. He had something softish in manner, which was fit and dignified, without strictly being bred (*adrett*). A round face, a fine brow, a somewhat short blunt nose, a somewhat projected (pouting) yet highly characteristic, pleasant, amiable mouth. Under black eyebrows a pair of coal-black eyes, which failed not of their effect, though one of them was wont to be red and inflamed. By various questions he tried to make himself acquainted with me and my circumstances, and his power of attraction influenced me more and more strongly."

✓ Herder was described by Goethe as "the sworn foe of all sham and ostentation," and certainly Goethe had a chance to realize this, for Herder spared no opportunity to relieve his youthful admirer of much that was unreal and purely artificial. Almost brutally he punctured some of his pet theories, but in the end he was instrumental in aiding Goethe to get a more vital grasp of the underlying principles of the development of poetry and life. There can be little doubt but what Herder was one of the greatest inspirations of Goethe's life. So great was Goethe's sense of Herder's worth that he would not allow himself to be repulsed. With his characteristic insight he soon discovered that there was a repellent side to Herder's nature. Herder was given at times to pointed sarcasm and personal criticism which descended almost to rudeness. He was always fond throughout his life of setting people right. This unlovely side of Herder's nature, we need to say in the spirit of justice, was no doubt due in a large measure at this time to his morbid condition of mind and body.

Goethe had already written a few miscellaneous poems, but he was entirely lacking as yet in a critical spirit. The older man, given to criticism, laughed to scorn some of Goethe's favorite authors, pointed out the weakness of German literature and the lines along which it must grow if it would be truly great. He laid violent hands on the prevailing tendency to imitate the French, and

showed that this method must fail of its purpose. He introduced some of his favorite authors such as Hamann, Swift, Sterne, Goldsmith, Ossian, and the king of dramatists, Shakespeare. He taught that poetry belonged to a nation rather than to a chosen few. Under such guidance Goethe was led to have a profound respect for the essence of that which was truly German, especially for the German Volkslieder. In the presence of this man, who seemed to see the world as one, Goethe could not fail to receive inspiration. As he himself said, he was as a blind man whose sight had been restored. His admiration for Herder's intellectual qualities was supreme. Some writers have referred to Herder at this time as a kind of Faust wandering about for experience after having become weary and disheartened by the study of books; and it is also suggested that Goethe received his impulse to write Faust from Herder. Whether this be true or not, it is true that Herder met Goethe during his most impressionable years, and that their association for a number of months was very close. A powerful personality like that of Herder must have left its impression.

Sime sums up the influence of Herder on Goethe at this time admirably in these words:—

“Thanks to the influences under which he was brought by Herder, Goethe, during his residence at Strassburg, experienced a great intellectual awakening. He did not accept any

body of doctrines as a complete and final expression of truth. On the contrary, the supreme service done to him by Herder was that in regard to things of the mind he was delivered from subservience to external authority. He now began to look out upon the world with his own eyes, and to test opinions by the free exercise of his own judgment. He had met Herder at the very moment when he needed, and was capable of responding to, the stimulus of an original mind at a stage of development more advanced than his own. When he parted from his teacher, it was no longer necessary for him to sit at the feet of a master. He had learned that great achievements were possible only if, like the poet into whose secrets he was penetrating, he brought himself into direct contact with the facts of the world, and trusted absolutely to the inherent impulses and laws of his own intellectual and imaginative powers." (701.)

The gloomy days spent at Strassburg did not prevent Herder from continuing his writing. He decided to compete for a prize offered by the Berlin Academy on the question, "Was mankind capable of inventing language if left to his own resources, and by what means could he have invented it for himself?" Herder's theory of the development of language is of unusual interest to the student of to-day because of its suggestions on evolution. This essay, one of the best things that Herder ever wrote, won the prize. Other

work was entered upon and mapped out, activities that were characteristic of him during his whole life. During this time he became especially interested in folk songs of the various nations. These primitive expressions he put a high value upon because, having sprung naturally and spontaneously from the souls of the people, they were true poetry.

At the end of six months of invalidism Herder's wound was healed. He borrowed some money from Goethe, hastened to Darmstadt to see his beloved Karoline, and thence he pursued his way to Bückeburg.

His Wanderjahre were over.

CHAPTER VII.

IN EXILE AT BÜCKEBURG. (1771-1776)

A Chilly Welcome—The Eccentricities of a Count—
Needed Reforms—A Feeling of Uselessness and Isolation—
His Marriage—Honors from the Academy at Berlin—A
Farewell.

Herder's arrival in Bückeburg was a shock to the little provincial town from which it did not soon recover. For months he had been eagerly expected. What was the surprise of Westfield, the prime minister, who had been instrumental in securing Herder, to see the distinguished man clad in "a sky-blue coat embroidered with gold, a white waistcoat and a white hat." Bückeburg could scarcely believe her eyes, and almost refused to see in this worldly dress her new minister. The situation was all the more perplexing because the Count, anxious to welcome Herder, had insisted that he be brought before him as soon as he arrived. This he stoutly refused to do until he had made his toilet with the assistance of a barber and hairdresser. Much belated he finally appeared before the Count who gave him a rather cool reception.

To appreciate the circumstances we need to know more about this Count of Bückeburg. Born in England twenty years before Herder, he had led a reckless, wild, dissipated life. He

had never learned to speak the German language, except imperfectly, although he had traveled extensively, and spoke French, Italian, and Portuguese. At the age of twenty-four, on the death of his father, he had come into the inheritance of his father's lands. His first hobby was to make Bückeburg a great military power. The reckless spirit of the man is shown by a party which he gave to some of his friends. When asked by some of his guests what the whizzing was above their heads, he replied that he had ordered the gunners to practice on the tent pole, but, he added "there is no possibility of their hitting it." Every nerve was strained to put Bückeburg on the best possible war footing. The common people were loaded down with taxes, which as fast as collected were turned into the war coffers. With his strong will and the material resources which he had the Count had won considerable distinction in a military way.

Yet this man had a more human side to his nature. In his way he was a student and a philosopher. He was versed in science and mathematics, could recite whole pages of Shakespeare, had a fine collection of pictures, a kapelle presided over by Christian Bach, son of the great Sebastian, to furnish his own music, and was quite familiar with the early writings of Kant. Outside of military affairs he found his chief delight in talking philosophy. Abbt, the predecessor of Herder, had enjoyed such conversation, or

at least had put up with it from the Count, and for that reason he was much beloved. Having read Herder's memorial "Torso on Abbt," the Count at once entertained the thought of Herder's entering his service.

The difficulty of a common meeting ground between Herder and the Count must be quite obvious. From boyhood Herder had had a horror of the red collar, of anything pertaining to the military. By nature he was nervous and sensitive, and found it difficult to come to any decision. A dreamer expecting and rather accustomed to being honored instead of paying homage, he was now met by a man inflexible as iron who was born to command, and determined to receive homage from all beneath him.

The conditions necessary for Herder's success were almost entirely lacking. The mere hostility of the Count was in itself depressing; but in addition to that Herder found nobody with whom he cared to associate, or who cared to associate with him. The common people were loaded down with taxation and groaning under the rigid military requirements. Abbt had not helped to lessen their burdens, and they looked upon Herder as one who would in all probability continue to grind them down. Herder's preaching, which was usually so successful, did not take effect; the regular pastors hated him because of his reputation and his freedom of thought; and few of the inhabitants chose him as their confessor.

He was regarded very much as an escaped freak from a museum. At this time Herder wrote, "Whenever I go out into the street people come and stare at me as if I were an elephant." There was such a crying need for cash that there was no money to institute many reforms which Herder had in mind. Interest in education was at a low ebb, the schoolhouses were falling into decay, while the consistory had degenerated into a merely mechanical affair. With sadness Herder could indeed remark, "I am a parson without a parish, a patron of schools without schools, a consistory councillor without consistory."

What a fall from dreams to reality! On his wonderful voyage from Riga to Nantes he had expressed such a positive contempt for mere passivity. He longed to really do something in life. Bückeburg seemed to offer no opportunity for service. He was in exile almost as much as he would have been in the desert or in the wilderness.

Disappointed in his work and his social environment, Herder turned to other sources for his inspiration. The house that had been assigned to him contained twelve rooms and stood on the outskirts of the town. With his financial embarrassments he found some difficulties in furnishing the place, and even after a lapse of months he reported that his coffee cups were borrowed. Here he lived the life of a hermit. With his books under his arm he wandered far into the forest

enjoying the beauties of nature. This contact with nature reminded him of his early boyhood at Mohrungen, and as at that place finding the outer world unsatisfactory, he fell back on his own inner world of ideas. This was one of the striking tendencies of his whole life. The reality which he sought often became the reality of his own inner reflections.

But influences were at work which were soon to fetch him out of his solitude. The first of these was his acquaintance with Countess Maria, the wife of the Count of Bückeburg. She was a woman with deep religious feelings, who found Herder congenial and chose him as her confessor. She is described by him as "a picture of charity, gentleness, love, and humility." At once Herder found a new interest in life, for he had at last discovered one truly sympathetic listener. The Count seemed to be more kindly disposed toward him; and indeed took great pride in the honor showered upon Herder by the Berlin Academy for his essay on the origin of speech. He soon became a great favorite with the children, and his confirmations were popular. After his marriage to Karoline (May 2, 1773) his popularity with the community grew rapidly. The people who had expected him to torment them with scorpions began to realize that he was a human being like themselves, and ceased to look upon him as a tyrant or a freak. As a married man he became a friend, citizen, and human being, otherwise he

would have been merely an exile, an artistic spirit apart from other men. As a citizen of Bückeburg once told him, they would never have known him if he had not married.

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What did Herder accomplish while at Bückeburg? Kühnemann says that there were three events of interest in his life during this period: he took a wife; he decided to follow the ministry permanently; and he based his ideas of the world on religious thoughts. Turning from an objective world which was more or less repulsive, he looked into his own consciousness and found his fundamental basis of reality in religion. He set out to do for religion what he had tried to do for poetry, to take history as a background and so discover its origin, to discover its real meaning from religious documents. Out of this there came to him a new religious spirit. With the zeal of the Old Testament prophet, of the reformer, he found himself opposed to a certain extent to the prevailing religious beliefs and forms of his time. All the dreams of his voyages at sea were resurrected, the only difference being that they now had a religious emphasis. Instead of basing a living faith and morality upon dogmas and logical propositions, he sought to find their origin in nature and history. He would find out how they happened to develop and what they really meant in the light of their development. This idea of the function of history and nature in interpreting the present were strongly character-

istic of all his writings at this time and afterward.

While his aim and methods were almost startling in their newness and eminently modern in spirit, Herder's knowledge of history was unfortunately quite defective, and so many of his writings will not stand the light of criticism. His books were more the result of inspiration than actual investigation, largely witnesses of his own personal experiences. Yet with all the defects of his writing due largely to the lack of historical criticism during this time and the imperfections of his own personality, Herder arrived at certain conclusions and instituted new ways of looking at things that were destined to affect most profoundly German thought in the next century.

Herder's enthusiasm for writing during this time was so great that he worked like mad. Frequently he began his work as early as four o'clock in the morning. Such effort brought him more fame, for in 1775 he was crowned by the Berlin Academy for his essay, "The Cause of the Decline of Taste." This work like many others of this period was historical in character. He sketched the history of art during its periods of greatest development, and attempted to show how worthless imitation is in creating the artistic. Nevertheless his scant knowledge of the fields which he touched in his writing during this period exposed him to the bitterest kind of criticism. Herder by nature was unusually sensitive to criticism,

so much of his life at Bückeburg was unhappy. An example of the kind of criticism to which he was subjected is illustrated by his experiences with Schlözer. The latter had written a learned but dull and heavy volume entitled "An Introduction to Universal History," which was reviewed rather flippantly and superficially by Herder. The author in reply wrote an entire volume to expose Herder's ignorance of the facts. Hamann and other friends rushed to the rescue, but defense was futile, and the matter was soon dropped.

In his attempt to get at the meaning back of religion and the other institutions of society, it was only natural that Herder should make many enemies. His orthodoxy was questioned and his scholarship doubted. Once more he was seized by the desire to make a change, to leave Bückeburg. In 1775 he was appointed as university preacher and professor of theology at Göttingen with the understanding that he should pass an examination which would be set for him. This requirement imposed through the activity of his enemies was most galling but he decided to accept. Before this was brought about, however, he was offered, through the influence of Goethe, the post of general superintendent at Weimar, a position which he eventually accepted.

Certain phases of Herder's life at Bückeburg had been most gratifying. Karoline proved to be an excellent wife, who, to his joy, bore him two sons. His home conditions were agreeable.

for work, and his literary achievements were twice crowned by the Berlin Academy. He had made some additional acquaintances among the men of letters, particularly Heyne and Lavater. He himself looked upon his exile at Bückeburg as a true school. In his farewell sermon he only regretted in leaving that he had seemed to be so unnecessary, that he seemed to be in a desert where the echo from his voice scarcely returned. Whatever his accomplishments he had failed to do most of the things that originally had been so near to his heart. Restlessness and sensitivity, the evil genii who followed him throughout his whole life, were to be with him at Weimar; but it was there that he was to do his most mature work.

CHAPTER VIII

AT WEIMAR

THE SUMMIT, THE DECLINE, THE END (1776-1803)

A New Life—Relation to Court and Goethe—Official Duties—Reforms in Education—Friendship with Goethe—The Flower of his Literary Activity—His Friends—Home Life—Trip to Italy—Its Disappointments and Compensations—The Last Days.

The beginning of Herder's life at Weimâr foreshadowed success. The first sermon was a triumph. Exaggerated reports of his eccentricities as a preacher had gone forth. It was said that he could not preach, that he appeared in the pulpit booted and spurred, and that after each sermon he rode three times around the church and thence through the gate. Probably these vicious and absurd thrusts were made by his enemies, the cut-and-dried orthodox who had opposed his appointment because of his reputation for liberal and reformatory ideas. So strong had been their influence that Herder received his appointment only through the earnest solicitation of Goethe. If the ludicrous rumors that were circulated were intended to injure the newly arrived general superintendent, they failed in their purpose, for they served to advertise him as nothing else could. The church was crowded for his first service. The congregation found to its great pleasure the pulpit occupied by a man



In Memory of Herder at Weimar

dressed like the ordinary pastor, a man unassuming in manner, who displayed none of the bombast of the usual preacher. He spoke with a musical voice and with conviction. He took Weimar by storm.

Herder's first letters from Weimar show for him unusual contentment and happiness. He wrote to Hartknoch, "I am universally beloved and honored by the court, the people and those of distinction." In other letters he expressed his appreciation for Goethe and the duke, Karl August.

But ere long the usual cares and difficulties that had beset him began to appear. First of all he fell ill with the fever which finally resulted in jaundice and liver complaint from which he was never entirely able to free himself. Then with the expense involved in moving his family from Bückeburg, he found himself hard pressed for ready money. His official duties too proved in many cases to be irksome. This was in part due to the nature of the man; for in spirit he was a reformer, and it was never possible for him to perform his duties in a perfunctory manner. As a preacher he was probably not surpassed by any man of his generation, and in this capacity he was eminently successful. As a preacher he enjoyed his work. This could hardly be said of some of the other duties which belonged to the general superintendency. There were forces outside of the church that opposed him at every turn, and took every possible opportunity to

discredit him. Success in the sense of carrying out some of his pet plans was therefore most disappointing. Few of his many schemes for improvement were realized. At Weimar as in the past he did not find time enough to pursue his scholarly tastes as he would have liked. The grind of routine and the vexations at finding himself thwarted often left him exhausted. As first preacher of the court and city church he officiated frequently, and devoted some time to the transaction of their business affairs. As superintendent he had general supervision over all the clergy of Weimar and its neighborhood, while as general superintendent his oversight extended to the 150 preachers of the entire Duchy of Weimar. Although outwardly servile, in their innermost hearts the majority of them opposed him as a foreigner or a heretic. He was also one of the seven members of the consistory, the governing body of the diocese. The presiding officer was an aged, grouchy, self-willed man, who, supported by five of his colleagues, decided to have his own way. The hours spent by Herder in the sessions of this council must have been most trying. He dreamed great dreams for the uplifting of the diocese only to find them crumble in the presence of this august body of men. Little wonder that as he gazed at the crucifix in one of the rooms where the consistory assembled he should write a bitter epigram, that he should ask to be reminded that he forgive them for they

did not know what they did. His clerical work was enormous, but the church accounts were probably his heaviest burden. Herder's position also required him to assist in the burial of the dead, to hear confessions, to perform matrimonial services, to confirm the children of Weimar, to examine the candidates for ordination and for teaching, to inspect the gymnasium of Weimar, and, most arduous of all, to audit the accounts for the entire diocese.

But Herder's keenest disappointment was his position at court. Goethe had worked so hard to get him to come to Weimar, and he himself had so much influence at the court, that Herder naturally expected to be his most intimate friend. To his profound regret he saw little of Goethe for several years after he came to Weimar. This resulted in part because of Goethe's absences from the city on account of his travels. Their practical problems too were in different spheres. Herder found little time outside of his official business, and Goethe when at Weimar devoted himself to the duke, Karl August, or to Charlotte von Stein, or to the management of plays or social entertainments. The cordiality and genius of Goethe made him the idol of the court, and he led apparently a care-free life; Herder was forced to spend many a weary hour in the dull, heavy routine of official business. Under such conditions they tended to drift farther and farther apart.

Herder's relationship to the duke, Karl August,

was also disappointing. The latter was delighted to have so famous a preacher at his court, but he himself felt no need for or interest in the saving of souls. He was not in the habit of attending church except in an official capacity, and about the only time that he ever heard Herder preach was at some of the functions at the court. He honored Herder so far as it was possible for him, but the difference between them intellectually and spiritually made an intimate and genuine friendship between them impossible. The attitude of the duke's wife, Louise, was much more sympathetic, and her friendship at court was often of great advantage to Herder in hours of need.

Although often feeling himself very much alone and some of his duties unbearable, Herder enjoyed during these first years at Weimar the friendship of such men as Wieland, August von Einsiedler, Prince August von Gotha, and the elector of Mainz, Karl von Dalbergs. He was also a favorite among many of the ablest and best known women of Weimar. A greater contact with the realities of life along with the bracing intellectual atmosphere of Weimar could not help but be stimulating. With all his busy hours he found time to write and his writings tended to be a little nearer earth, less verbose and more finished in style.

Herder's published works were many and varied in character relating to art, poetry, literature, music, and theology. Three times

his literary efforts were crowned with success (9, pp. 157, 158). Twice he received prizes from the Academy of Munich, and for the third time he was honored by the Academy of Berlin. In all his writings and in his editorial work, we behold the vastness of his interests and the spirit of modern, free investigation. His writings during this time were strongly influenced by Lessing, whom he studied industriously and with whom he exchanged many letters on theological subjects. On the death of this great critic in 1781, Herder wrote that it seemed as if the stars had set and only the dark cloudy sky remained.

Late in the autumn of 1783, the golden age, the happiest epoch of Herder's life, began at Weimar. It was the beginning of that close friendship between Herder and Goethe that shed its glory over the lives of both these great men.

On August 28 Goethe invited both the Herders to visit him. Much to their surprise they found that Goethe was not the court fop they supposed him to be. He knew more about the difficulties that they had experienced than they realized. He seemed to be much interested in their welfare and seemed anxious to further Herder's reforms of the Weimar gymnasium. Their misunderstandings soon disappeared, and soon the best of good will prevailed between them. At this time Goethe was leading a rather retired life. The renewal of their old friendship brought both men together now a good deal. They

spent at least one evening of the week together either in reading, discussing matters of common interest, or working with the microscope, for science at this time was Goethe's hobby. The correspondence of both these men show how happy they were in finding each other. Each was interested in what the other was doing. Herder worked on an edition of Goethe's works as if they had been his own. What hearty good will was expressed on the part of Herder as he returned to him a copy of "Götz von Berlichingen" which he had perused! "Dear brother," he wrote, "here is your Götz, your first, own, eternal Götz with his deep soul. God bless you a thousand times for having made Götz." Goethe was not backward in acknowledging the worth of Herder, and as evidence of this we can find in one of his dramas several of Herder's ballads. Kühnemann says the friendship of Goethe and Herder marked the beginning of the classical period in Weimar, as Goethe's friendship with Schiller indicated its climax. In the development of German literature Herder led the way from Lessing to the young Goethe. Both Goethe and Herder profited from this friendship. Goethe was doubtless led to a keener insight of the poetical spirit while Herder found a friend who loved him, understood him, and in a large measure overlooked his faults. It was during this period of friendship (1783-1787) that Herder began to write what was to be his masterpiece, "Ideen

zur Philosophie der Geschichte," which was read and favorably commented upon by Goethe, who along with Karoline was largely responsible for its having been written.

Fortunately for posterity a delightful picture of Herder and his home life has been presented by Georg Müller, a theological student, and a younger brother of the historian, Johannes von Müller. In 1780 Georg, then twenty-one years of age, made the journey from Göttingen to Weimar on foot to get Herder's advice on his theological studies. Some time previous to this he had been greatly attracted by reading in Switzerland some of Herder's theological writings, and he had decided then that there was nobody to whom he would rather confide his soul secrets than to Herder. The Herders extended to him a warm welcome, and took him into their house for about ten days. The next year he was their guest from September, 1781, to the end of March, 1782. Müller has written a rather full account of his experiences and observation in the Herder household so it is possible for us to get many interesting sidelights on his character and mode of life.

Herder's wife Karoline has also left us a rather prejudiced but vivid description of his habits and daily life in the "Erinnerungen."

A typical day in the life of Herder is related by Nevinson (53, pp. 260-265) with fidelity to these sources. "The day," says Nevinson, "was divided in the ordinary German fashion, and each day of

the week had its special routine. The family rose early, and there was a slight breakfast with milk or coffee before Herder set about the duties of his office, received the complaints and petitions from the clergy of the diocese, arranged the accounts, and wrote his official letters. Tuesday morning was always spent with the consistory, and too often he returned from the conflict depressed and gloomy. Thursday and Friday were his easiest days, and then he would work at his books or read Milton with Müller, and sometimes walk with him in the country. But even these free mornings were generally interrupted by business, and Karoline tells us that he never had a day entirely to himself; and yet his works number 43 volumes of considerable size, which proves his activity, even if we judge by quantity alone. Provided that business allowed, dinner followed at twelve o'clock, consisting of the ordinary German courses; for Herder was absolutely indifferent to all delicacies and the details of cookery, 'which,' Karoline adds, 'was a great comfort to me,' for in her hands the management of the whole household lay. After dinner Herder would play for a time with the children, whose great object was to induce him to descend to their level, and creep about with them on the floor as bear or other monster of delight and terror; whereupon 'such a shouting would arise' as was very trying to the nerves of the pensive young man."

"The children having retired, coffee was brought,

and Herder smoked half a pipe, a practice which he had adopted since his arrival in Weimar, for the relief of headaches, probably by the advice of Keibel, who was supposed never to let his pipe grow cold. He would then sometimes play the harpsichord or piano, to please his guest, and sing perhaps beside; and Müller writes that he had never heard music to compare to this for pathos and simple grandeur.

"The rest of the afternoon was divided between work and exercise. When he was alone Herder's favorite walk was to a thickly-wooded hill probably just across the Ilm, or the upper road to Tiefurt. With Müller, or in later years with Jean Paul, he would drive up the long slope to the beech-woods of the Ettersberg, and on to the retired castle, scene of so many revels.

"After his walk Herder generally set to work again till supper-time. After supper sometimes one of the party would read aloud from some poet, or any recent work of interest. Karoline says that she used to read all his manuscripts aloud to him, that he might judge of the sound; but more often the hours up to twelve or one o'clock were spent in conversation."

"But the main subjects of conversation, especially at night, seem to have been stories of ghosts and dreams and forebodings of all things in the world—stories, to judge from the well-authenticated examples by Müller, that would hardly impose on a child in these days, but were

enough to send the young man quaking off to bed with hair on end, like quills upon the fretful porcupine; and they were firmly believed by Karoline, at least, as almost religious tenets of faith. It is not worth while to reveal the folly of these supposed omens and prophetic dreams; indeed we must respect the hope of Müller that his work will not fall into the hands of the scoffer. But it gives us an interesting glance down the dim aisles of history to think that a hundred years ago a man like Herder was still haunted by a half-belief in the absurdities of second sight, forebodings, and spiritual visitants to the glimpses of the moon; for the light of science as yet had hardly risen."

The accounts of Herder by Jean Paul and others at a later time show that Müller's and Karoline's picture of Herder must have been essentially true and that it had not undergone much of a change with the advance of years.

It was in Weimar that Herder found the greatest opportunity to influence education. As the head of the schools of Weimar, he was naturally interested in their development, and, to a man with his views on education, that naturally meant reform. In the capacity of an inspector of the Weimar gymnasium Herder seized the opportunity at the time for examination once a year to deliver an address on education. It had previously been ordained that Latin should be the language used for such occasions, but Herder, with his

abhorrence of display and pretense, preferred to use the German. The addresses (*Schulreden*), twenty-four in number, are a storehouse of pedagogical insight and knowledge, and, according to Heiland, assure Herder a permanent place in the History of Education. So earnest was he in attempting reforms, especially in the gymnasium, that he gave special instruction to each class and to each teacher. He aimed to make out of the lower classes a *Realschule* for the general run of the citizens and a scientific gymnasium out of the upper classes for students. Often he found some opportunity to teach in the Weimar gymnasium. In all his efforts for reform he was ably supported by the director of the institution, Johannes Michael Heinze.

Certainly there was need of reform in the schools of Weimar. Since 1733 the Weimar gymnasium had turned aside from its original purpose of imparting humanistic culture. Apparently decrying the learning of Latin and the other subjects usually taught in the gymnasium, the art of war was deemed to be of paramount importance. The youths were taught fencing, riding, dancing, deportment, and the policy of diplomacy, all of which to Herder, who hated anything referring to the military, was superficial and contemptible. The serious purposes of life were subordinated to military and social pretension. Among the pupils, beer drinking, smoking, cards, and play acting were common. So strongly was

this radical rebellion intrenched that after a great many years of labor the evils were not entirely obliterated.

Not only directly but indirectly, Herder endeavored to improve the gymnasium. One of the evils which he discovered was the meager salary paid to the teachers. He finally prevailed on the Grand Duke to divert certain funds so that more money could be paid the schoolmasters, especially those in the country districts. Like Heyne of Göttingen and Wolff at Halle he was anxious to have a training class for schoolmasters. After a number of bitter failures, he was finally successful in 1787 in establishing a training college for some thirty or forty young masters although it never fully satisfied his ambitions. Remembering his hunger for books during his boyhood he established a stipendium for poor scholars. In the lower classes he advocated the use of the Pestalozzian methods. Suitable books not being available, he wrote in 1786 in his busiest period an A, B, C book, and two years later a school catechism with explanatory notes. He also contemplated the writing of another book on natural history of plants and animals for the lower classes, but unfortunately the book was never written.

In the pages which are to follow we shall take up in detail the principles and methods of instruction presented by Herder. It will suffice to say here perhaps that he was interested not only in the gymnasium but in the reform of other schools,

such as the city school, orphan school, school for the poor and garrison school. During his entire stay at Weimar he found the hostility of the consistory and the general conditions not favorable to reform. His reforms on primary education were carried on after his death by one Günther.

The consistory managed to oppose Herder at nearly every turn, but he maintained his position as the leader of the clergy of the duchy. His practical work as an educator in the church is worthy of notice. He gave Weimar a new song book and inspired the liturgy. He was especially interested in a seminary for ministers, which, however, did not materialize, and in his writings on theology he planned a course for theological students. As a preacher he was eminently successful. Little has been said of Herder as a preacher, but he probably deserves a high ranking among the preachers of his time. The few sermons of his that have been preserved in writing give some sort of an idea of his power; but they are, of course, inadequate, for a sermon is to be heard not read. This was Herder's idea, too. Despising hard and fixed rules of composition, he reacted sharply against the academically prepared sermon of the ordinary minister. He wished to carry conviction, to move his hearers, and he felt that this was impossible if formal essays were read. To have freshness and vigor they must flow naturally from his own soul. He seemed to

have been in the habit of speaking more or less extemporaneously all his life. He was invariably hated by his brother clergymen, but he always spoke to crowded congregations. This popularity among the churchgoing people was probably due to his unaffected ways and his ease and naturalness of manner. Then, too, he taught them not the dry, senseless cant of the theological text-books but simple lessons of life.

Goethe in his autobiography bears witness to the excellencies of Herder's sermons. He tells us how removed they were from all dramatic mimicry, and with what earnestness and plainness he spoke. Wilhelm von Humboldt referred to him as a true orator. Several weeks after Herder's arrival in Weimar, Wieland wrote to Jacobi: "He preaches as no one has preached, so truthfully, so simply, so convincingly, and yet everything is so deeply thought out, so sincerely felt, so profound in content." Even the freethinking Schiller, who had declared that a good sermon was an impossibility, was much surprised. The sermon was so liberal in spirit, so practical in the daily life of the citizen that Schiller said it might have been given just as appropriately in a mosque as in a Christian church. He wrote to Körner: "Herder's sermon pleased me more than any other that I have ever heard. The church was crowded, and the sermon had the great virtue of not lasting long." (9, pp 179-189.)

The Weimar period gave birth to Herder's most

important work, "Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte" (Ideas on the Philosophy of History), the first part of which appeared in 1781, and the fourth and last part in 1791. Like all of his writings it remained unfinished, although it was not nearly as fragmentary as some of his works. This remarkable production, which foreshadowed so much of the world's cultural development, has been sadly neglected by the modern world. The ideas proposed were inspired largely by the philosophy of Leibnitz, who had advanced the theory that the primordial force of the world was power in the process of a ceaseless and progressive change. This bold and attractive theory of Leibnitz had been confined for the most part to the field of metaphysics; but Herder applied it with some modification to the whole gamut of development. Herder was the first to see life as an organic whole. The reality of the world he conceived to be *one* expressing itself in a variety of forms of organization, but the whole guided by a predetermined harmony was on the way toward a realization of its innate powers. The goal of realization was *humanity*, the attainment of the possibilities of man's nature. His philosophy, while at heart dogmatic in the sense that it rested upon metaphysical theories, was new in that he tried with these limitations to find truth in the world of everyday facts and experiences. He gloried in the fact that he had relegated the merely formal metaphysics to the rubbish heap.

With a peculiarly modern scientific insight Herder sought for enlightenment in the beginnings of things. As he said: "Just as the tree grows from its roots, so the progress and flower of an art are determined by its origin." He would seek for the meanings of human life first of all in its beginnings. The phenomenon of change he observed in the formation of the earth long before life appeared. In the process of change and development plants, animals, and man appear. The influence of geography and physical surroundings on the life of man is referred to again and again. In fact this adjustment to surroundings was carried in some cases to an absurd length by Herder. The following quotation from the "Ideen" illustrates this:—

✓ "Of beasts the most quiet, and most humane, if we may use the expression, feed on vegetables. Nations that live principally at least on the same food, have been remarked for the same salutary peaceableness, and careless serenity. All carnivorous beasts are naturally more savage. Man, who ranks between the two, cannot be a carnivorous animal, to judge from the structure of his teeth." (25, vol. 1, p. 59.)

It is worthy of notice that throughout this entire work, Herder considers man a part of the world of nature, and governed by the same inflexible laws. Man, he insists, is a natural phenomenon, and, along with crystals, plants, and animals, must be considered as a system of powers,

the only difference being that in man there is a higher form of organization. Herder's method here, it is easy to see, is that of the natural scientist, a method which is supreme to-day.

With a bold hand Herder drew a picture of the gradual evolution of man. His sympathy with the culture of primitive peoples was marked, but in the history of the Greeks he finds the highest revelation of humanity. It is to be regretted that Herder did not finish his work so that we might have had his ideas on modern culture.

This inspiring philosophy of every living thing, yes, of even the whole universe, striving for self-realization was, of course, the core of Herder's educational philosophy. His educational aim might have been stated as the bringing to a realization of the best in every pupil.

It would be too much to call Herder's work scientific, for science was just dawning, but it was remarkable for its method and its conception of evolution. Many of the passages from the "Ideen" suggest Darwin, but there is nothing to show that Herder believed that one form might change into another. While he was an evolutionist of Leibnitz rather than Darwin, he had a wonderful idea of the progress of man. He deserves to be called the Father of the Evolutionary study of history.

The "Ideen" was read and praised by some of the greatest scholars and literary men in Germany, but it inspired the antagonism of one powerful


opponent, Herder's one-time teacher and friend, Immanuel Kant. While praising Herder's fruitful imagination, Kant denied his right to be a philosopher of history in the narrow sense. He complained because Herder's views were colored so much by his own personal experiences. Herder had prided himself on his overthrow of dogmatic metaphysics, but Kant, with superior skill and boldness, undertook to show that he was leaning on a metaphysical crutch, and a weak one at that. Herder's conception of the spiritual nature of the human soul, its constancy and progress toward perfection, likewise his oft-repeated declaration of the oneness of organic powers offended Kant's critical sense. Therein lay a paradox—metaphysical results were approached by non-metaphysical paths. The whole conception was to Kant a harmless play of the imagination. This was true in part, for Herder was less a philosopher and investigator of nature than a poet with creative fancies. Kant naturally failed to appreciate the riches contained in Herder's work. Herder, of course, resented most bitterly Kant's criticism, and in turn attacked him fiercely. Without going into the points involved in this controversy it might be said that philosophers are practically agreed that Herder did not understand Kant's criticism and that Kant had the best of the argument. As a result of this tragedy Kant and Herder remained unfriendly from that time on. Herder's last days were greatly harried by the advance

of Kantianism. Even his own son was found to be susceptible.

In 1788 the great opportunity that Herder had often longed for arrived. He had a chance to go to Italy. He was invited by a Catholic friend, Friedrich von Dalbergs, to be his guest. At about the same time he also received anonymously quite a large sum of money. After accepting Dalbergs' offer, and while he was in the very midst of his preparations for the journey, word reached him of the death of his old friend Hamann. The news was received with the greatest grief, for in the course of years Hamann had been to him almost like a father. To him he turned for sympathy in distress and also for appreciation in the hour of achievement. It is no exaggeration to say that he revered Hamann's ashes as though they were those of a prophet. Before his journey ended his old friend and publisher Hartknoch also died. Finally with a sigh of relief Herder laid down the petty cares of his office and tried to dispel the sorrows from his soul and began the journey. His fame preceded him, and many distinguished people gathered along his route to extend their greetings. Although he enjoyed much that he saw, the journey was in some respects a disappointment; he did not find what he expected, and he was rather chagrined that Goethe had found so much. Goethe's friends in Rome and elsewhere received him most graciously, but Herder did not find pleasure in their company.

This was due in part, no doubt, to Herder's sensitiveness; he shrank naturally from meeting strangers and many things irritated him. Then his traveling companions were not congenial. In a short time misunderstandings arose between himself and Dalbergs, and Herder decided to be independent and pay his own expenses. His need of money for himself and family was pressing, as it always was, so that neither he nor his wife in distant Weimar had much genuine enjoyment. Even his visit to Rome, which he had looked forward to with such delight, was far from satisfying. Rome appeared to him like a grave. To Adelbert he wrote:—

“All Rome is full of idlers; the families which have money have everything; the others are poor and are obliged to make their own living as they can and may. The houses of the middle class and the common people look horribly dirty, and all of them have thought only for the present day. The entire country around Rome is uncultivated; no beautiful oxen, cattle, gardens and fruits can be seen, and everything must be brought in from the distance, even on donkeys with loud tinkling little bells, and often one has the honor to meet at once several hundred donkeys coming back from the market. In the Roman gardens, it is true, there grow laurel, cypress and lemon trees, but no fruits and no vegetables. Even the lemons in certain months are more expensive than they are at Weimar, because



they have not been laid away, but are sold from the tree. You see, my friend, that is a bad kind of husbandry; and the wine here, to speak respectfully, is mostly loathsome, heavy and detestable. But instead they have here beautiful statues and paintings." (52, vol. 2, pp. 305, 306.)

But if Herder found Rome oppressive, Naples soothed his troubled spirits. There the petty cares and anxieties of his travels disappeared. With the exception of being haunted somewhat by the specter of homesickness, he gave himself up unreservedly to the enjoyment of the city and the surrounding country. On January 6, 1789, he wrote to his wife:—

"I am happy in Naples. . . . In spite of the cold (the winter was one of unusual severity, surprising the Neapolitans with the rare visitation of snow and ice), the air here is such as I never before experienced,—balmy and refreshing. Freed from oppressive Rome, I feel myself quite like a new person,—spiritually and bodily newborn. . . . I can believe the Neapolitans, that when God wishes to have a good time, he just posts himself at the window of heaven and looks down on Naples." (22, p. 247.)

Among the many letters of Herder that have been preserved none are more interesting than those written on his Italian journey. They give an interesting picture of the Italy of the late 18th century, and, best of all, they reveal the immeasurably deep affection that united him to

his wife and children. It was after the reading of some of these letters that De Quincey exclaimed: "Seldom indeed on earth can there have been a fireside more hallowed by love and pure domestic affection than that of Herder." In his letters to his children are shown not only his fatherly affection but his thoughtful appreciation of the interests of each child. These letters without doubt deserve to be classed among the greatest ever written by a father to his children. I quote one which is perhaps typical:—

"Rome, Oct. 15, 1788.

"My dear good Children:

You have given me so much pleasure with your letters, that I owe several to each one of you, and I mean very soon to pay the debt. To you, good Gottfried, I shall write about Roman antiquities; to you, dear August, of beautiful gods and goddesses; to you, brave Wilhelm, of fine buildings, the rotunda and others; to you, stalwart Adelbert, of Italian oxen, cows and trees; to you, little Louise, of gardens and beautiful pictures; to you, dear Emil, of grapes and other nice things. I am glad, dear children, that you are so industrious, obedient, and well behaved. I thank you, Gottfried, that you take such good care of my library, and write me such nice letters; you, too, dear August and good Wilhelm. I am pleased that Herr Krause gives such a good account of your drawing. It is a grief to me every moment, that I can't draw.

I am like a dumb man who has thoughts, but can't express them. Therefore, dear children, learn to draw well, and be diligent, too, in studying languages. And, Gottfried, it would do no harm if you should begin to play the piano again, so that you may learn to play with real expression. When I read your letter to Herr Rehberg, who is an excellent painter,—the letter in which you say that you mean to be an Albrecht Durer,—he asked me why I didn't bring you with me. But it is too soon for that; you must learn a great many things before you go to Italy. It is good that you have begun Greek; it is the finest language on earth. Be very industrious. Dear Luischen, you are learning very pretty hymns; and your little notes to me are very nice. I like especially the hymn, 'Thy Ways to God commend.' You must also learn some verses of the hymn, 'I'll sing to Thee with Heart and Mouth'; it is a beautiful hymn, that. Dear Emil, I would like to see you in your little new beaver dress; but you will have done wearing it when I come back. Be careful of it, you dear good little boy, and mind you love me. Your little letters give me much pleasure; you are very smart and a little Gottfried. And now, good-by, all of you, my dear good children,—Gottfried, August, Wilhelm, Adelbert; and you my little woman and little Emil, who are so fond of writing to me. Good-by. Behave well; be happy and diligent and obedient. Farewell! all of you." (22, pp. 245, 246.)

Happy indeed was the homesick Herder when he turned his back on Italy and started for home. His travels had been trying, often exasperating, yet he realized that they were not without profit.

✓ "In how many things," he wrote, "this journey has made me wiser. How many sides of my being it has touched, gently or roughly, of whose existence I was scarcely aware. This I know for a certainty: it has opened my eyes with regard to men, and forced me to recognize what is really valuable in life; and especially to appreciate truth and love, of which there is so little in the world. Thus Italy, and Rome especially, has been for me a high school, not so much of art as of life. You will find when I return, that I am grown more serious; but do not fear my seriousness,—it will only bind me the closer to you and to all my beloved." (22, p. 243.)

While in Italy he had been offered a professorship at the University of Göttingen. He was tempted to accept, for the pettiness of his life in Weimar annoyed him, but finally, on the advice of Goethe, he refused the offer. The splendid inducements of the Grand Duke too were irresistible. Among other things he offered to make him president of the consistory, to pay his debts, and to bear the expenses involved in the education of his children. Unfortunately the duke was negligent in meeting these financial obligations, and after a time the Herders were in sore distress. Herder,


who had been steadily drifting away from Goethe, blamed him for this neglect, and finally their friendship was broken. This was a tragic event in Herder's life, for Goethe was his devoted friend and a source to him of inspiration and help. Even a cursory reading of the lives of these two men show the splendid devotion of Goethe and the injustice of Herder's accusations.

The closing days of Herder's life were full of sadness. He was troubled much by bodily ills. He found himself alienated from nearly all of his old friends. The vastness of his mind and his enthusiasm for a new order of things drew men toward him; but there was something about his relations with men, a subtle kind of irony, that in most cases sooner or later drove them from him. He could not tolerate criticism of his own work, and he was not tactful in his criticism of the work of others. As the inspirer of a new movement he was not able to recognize the merits of those who in a measure were working out his ideas. He looked backward to the early German writers, the favorites of his youth, as the great literary men of Germany instead of recognizing the merit of such writers as Goethe and Schiller. He found himself strangely out of place in a literary and philosophical world in which Kant, Schiller, and Goethe—all at one time his devoted friends—reigned supreme. In his later years he was wont to complain frequently of his loneliness and his mistaken life. He still, however, possessed

many friends who loved to call and chat. The most important of his later friendships was with the genial and sunny Jean Paul Richter, who greatly admired the versatility of his genius. Richter has given perhaps one of the best reasons why Herder was so often misrepresented.

"If he was misunderstood by opposing times and parties," said Jean Paul, speaking of Herder, "it was not altogether without fault of his own. His fault was that he was no star of first or any other magnitude, but a whole cluster of stars, out of which each one spells a constellation to suit himself. Men with powers of various kinds are always misunderstood; those with powers of only one kind seldom." (22, p. 249.)

Richter was a guest at the Herder house for many months, and was profoundly influenced, so much so that he has been called by one writer Herder's last and in some ways his best work. Other visitors like A. W. Schlegel and Wilhelm von Humboldt paid Herder hasty visits and were enthusiastic over his language and manners. But Herder was prematurely old. He had lost his sympathy with the present and failed to appreciate the very culture which he had been so instrumental in fostering. Yet in these declining years he wrote much that was of value. His translation of the "Cid," for example, was greatly appreciated by the German people. Even up to the very last he was busy planning reforms and new writings. Weak of body, threatened by



approaching blindness and discouraged, he passed away December 18, 1803.

Herder's career was one of the most peculiar among the world's great men. His boyhood days at Mohrungen were largely submerged in clouds of hardship and adversity, and the melancholy events of this time dominated by the haunting figures of Grimm and Trescho cast their ominous shadows over the remainder of his life. Naturally frail of body, and harassed forever by a congenital trouble with one of his eyes,* he found that many of his everyday problems seemed highly magnified and almost insurmountable. Exceedingly sensitive to the opinions and criticisms of his fellows, he was forever being wounded to the quick. His life was far from being truly happy; yet, in spite of this, his writings and his general philosophy of life therein exemplified, showed little of this morbid spirit. When he took his pen in hand, he tended to escape from his petty fears and irritability; he lost himself in a world of big ideas that stirred his emotions and imagination. A

*It does not seem at all improbable that the fistula in his eye, which was probably a symptom of a more serious trouble, was largely responsible for Herder's morbidity of temperament. Dr. George M. Gould, who has made an exhaustive study of the influence of eye defects on human life with special reference to men of letters, shows quite conclusively that traits of character similar to those that Herder possessed were often due to trouble with the eyes. Carlyle, who according to Gould was a great sufferer from eye strain, serves as a striking example. He was at times says Gould, "gloomy, irritable, morose, harsh." Yet Gould declines to believe that it was Carlyle's essential nature to be so as his splendid and inspiring life and writings testify. "These things were simply the symptoms of his awful disease." (18, pp. 62, 63.)

nobler self appeared. The universe was surveyed through a philosophy that was noble, free, and inspiring. It was from this commanding elevation of this higher self that Herder uttered those sentiments that made him Germany's foremost prophet of modern German culture. His tombstone has inscribed upon it the words found on his favorite signet ring, "Life, Love, and Light," fitting words in commemoration of Germany's great preacher and teacher of humanity.

CHAPTER IX

HUMANITY, THE GOAL OF EDUCATION

Herder, only Pedagog Among the Classical Writers—Neglected by Authors on the History of Education—Critic of Schools of His Day—Belief in Worth and Beauty of Free Human Nature—Meaning of Humanity—General and Specific Conceptions—Summary.

All the writers of the classical period of German literature were interested indirectly in social and educational problems; but Herder was the only pedagog among them. Herder was a practical teacher and a writer on education. It is not too much to say that he was fundamentally nothing but an educator. In spirit he was ever a reformer, abhorring the idea of a closet philosophy, and keeping in mind every time he dipped his pen in ink the betterment of mankind. He has been practically neglected by the writers on the history of education. This is due in part, no doubt, to the fact that he produced no coherent and systematic work on pedagogy like Rousseau's "Emile" or Pestalozzi's "How Gertrude Teaches Her Children." None of Herder's writings were written with the definite idea of his gaining a reputation as an educator or with any idea of influencing school practice beyond the narrow field of his labors. His "Journal Meiner Reise" (27, vol. 4), so rich in pedagogical suggestions, was written largely to give expression to the

storm of thoughts which forced their way almost unconsciously to the surface. The *Schulreden* which were delivered during his eventful life at Weimar were not published until after his death. In none of his written work was Herder a "*Vollender*," a finisher. Filled with a burning desire to understand and grasp all life, with an interest almost as broad as the universe, and with a peculiarly deep insight into human nature, he proved to be a pathfinder and inspirer in varied realms of knowledge, but all of his works are but fragments and his philosophy of education must be mosaiced together from many different sources.

In approaching the educational philosophy of any man, one of the first and most natural questions that one might ask is "What is conceived to be the end of education?" or "What is his conception of the ideally educated man?" As a first step in our study, let us try to get Herder's impression of the schools of his day.

As a critic of the prevailing school practice, Herder discovered little in the schools that was useful or would make for German citizenship. On the contrary, judging from the vast amount of time and effort devoted to the Latin tongue, it would appear, he says, that we are fearful of soon becoming Roman citizens, and anything like knowledge which could be used is to be merely incidental. (27, vol. 30, p. 129.) The long hours spent on the dull heavy grind of the

mechanics of Latin grammar is most disastrous. "The school should not be a dusty prison into which the children are driven as young cattle into a dark cave only to break joyfully away from it as soon as escape is possible." (27, vol. 30, p. 127.) "How pathetic is the sight! The youth sits in a Latin instead of a German school learning the Latin language. Under the sway of the scepter of grammar, he is suddenly blinded as if by glowing iron. The first youthful delight fades away; talent is buried in the dust; genius loses its power like a pen long unused. Oppressed genius! Martyrs of a mere Latin education! Ah, well might you raise your voices in loud lamentation." (58, p. 519.) In 1783 Herder says in one of his *Schulreden* that "the word school in our time has become for the most part among wise thinking men so hated or contemptible that they would gladly banish it from their language." (27, vol. 30, p. 83.)

When we recount the days spent by Herder with his *Martyrbuch*, the Latin grammar, under the schoolmaster Grimm, we can easily understand his biting criticism. But after making allowance for personal prejudice and some exaggeration there was doubtless some truth in his statement that the schools were more or less useless to society, and, in some respects, harmful; for, as he said, they prevented genius from developing or constrained it along narrow paths. (27, vol. 40, p. 93.) Much that was learned was for-

gotten, and an education more worth while was gained by battling with the actual world.

Herder saw the schools misdirecting their efforts towards ends that were vain and worthless. But men were beginning to get different conceptions of the purposes of education, and it is to the glory of Herder that he was the first to develop the new ideal of culture definitely, intelligently, and in all its clearness. (77, p. 284.) Little if any of this conception was original with Herder but through him it found its fullest and complete expression.

What was Herder's conception of the truly educated human being? The corner stone of Herder's educational doctrine was a belief in the worth and beauty of free human nature. (58, p. 516.) In this he was but harking back to Rousseau, who led the greatest revolt against civilization that the world had ever seen in his endeavor to find a real humanity under the outer form and artificiality of society. He found the golden age of man back in primitive times. Theology had long decreed that man was naturally depraved but Rousseau insisted on his natural goodness. Herder followed Rousseau in his belief in the worth of human nature; but this value to him did not lie in the inherent goodness of human nature. He contended that by nature the child was neither good nor bad but its disposition was so plastic that it might be both. Parents and teachers

should unite in an effort to influence it, otherwise the child is lost. And the society in which the child develops has a particular interest in seeing that it is not turned into false paths, that its education is not difficult or impossible. (49, p.21.) The worth of human nature to Herder did not lie in its inherent tendencies toward right or wrong but in the possibilities for good in the human soul. While accepting Rousseau's idea of the value of human nature, he was a man of practical ideas and could not agree with many of the absurd ideas advanced by the noted reformer.

In all of Herder's writings, the word humanity is a word to conjure with. It meant to him the highest goal of mankind. It is used frequently and enthusiastically in all his writings, but often very vaguely. Without attempting anything like a thorough explanation of this term, it may be said to mean everything that man was organized for. With the keenness of a natural scientist, and the poetic fancy and insight of a philosopher, Herder let his eyes roam over the then known world. In that day and age he was unusual in seeing it not as isolated parts, but as a whole differing only in its complexity of organization. He conceived the universe as a mighty *Werden*, a becoming, from the soil beneath his feet to the birds of the air, the beasts of the field, and finally to man himself. Every individual being was striving to realize its nature in conformity to its physiological structure and

environment. This onward development Herder believed had reached its highest realization in the mind of man, which he characterizes as "the purest and most active power we know on earth, a power so raised above all the capacities of inferior organizations as not only to rule with sovereign sway the numberless organic powers of my body with a kind of omnipotence and ubiquity; but also, most wonderful of wonders, to be capable of inspecting and governing itself." (25, vol. 1, p. 194.)

But the animals, Herder believed, had alone been able to attain their destiny.

"Every beast attains what his organization can attain; man only reaches it not, because his end is so high, so extensive, so infinite, and he begins on this earth so low, so late, and with so many external and internal obstacles. Instinct, the material gift of nature, is the sure guide of the brute." (25, vol. 1, p. 219.)

But the attainment of man's destiny is not to be in vain; for "his defective beginning is a proof of his endless progress." It is possible for him "to become a *nobler, freer* soul by his own exertions, and *this he will become*." (25, vol. 1, p. 221.)

Nowhere apparently does Herder define in concrete terms just what he means by humanity, although he frequently refers to it in the following way as the goal of human life:—

"We have seen that the end of our present existence is the formation of humanity, to which

all the meaner wants of this earth are subservient, and which they are all contrived to promote. Our reasoning capacity is to be formed to reason, our finer senses to art, our propensities to genuine freedom and beauty, our moving powers to the love of mankind." (25, vol. 1, p. 218.)

Religion is frequently referred to as the richest flower of humanity. Morality, the use of language, the exercise of art and happiness are also often emphasized.

To put the matter tersely, *humanity* to Herder meant *the exercise of all the powers with which man had been endowed*. This meant the cultivation of not one side of his nature but the whole of it. "In life," he said, "the undivided man, the healthy man, must work not only pleasurably but mightily with all his powers and limbs, with head and heart, with thoughts, will and deeds." All the powers in man's nature were to work together harmoniously for the true, the beautiful and the good. (27, vol. 30, p. 272.)

In both his theory and practice in education Herder did not forget the individual. He seemed to have a clear understanding of individual differences among children. Humanity meant that *each* individual should become what it was possible for him to become, according to his powers, his sphere of life, and his stage of culture. Such individual development would necessarily mean that mankind as a whole would grow toward human perfection. To become educated meant

the complete and symmetrical use of all one's powers physically and mentally. But why should man thus use his powers? Herder's answer is significant. This is life. To live life to its fullest means that man must develop those powers with which he was endowed at birth; for "while humanity is the characteristic of our race," "only as a tendency is it native to man—it must be developed by education."

This conception of the learning of life as the purpose of education put Herder at once on a pedestal apart from the dry-as-dust pedagogs that he was so fond of poking fun at. He saw no value in the school in itself except in so far as it furthered the purposes and gratified the cravings of the human being. Looking round about him and seeing the schools of pedantry he had but one question which they must answer if they would justify their existence, and that was "Do you help people to live?" To such a pointed question there was but one real answer to Herder, for they were relating their instruction to a hypothetical life of the past rather than to the present and the future. And what do we mean by learning for life? Learning what is useful in life, what is practicable, whereby we learn better how to live. (27, vol. 30, p. 271.) The school must prepare the youth for future progress, for usefulness for himself and others, for the complete and best use of his talents and powers for a lifetime. (27, vol. 30, p. 208.) This meant that he must be


skillful, industrious, moral, happy, useful, and a healthy man for the service of the state. It is obvious that Herder believed that the educated man should be able to be useful in an industrial way. He strove vigorously while at Weimar to establish a vocational school, but it was not until after his death that his plans were carried out by Günther. He did expect the regular school studies, if properly taught, however, to develop those mental powers that man could use in a useful way in life. "To learn for life," he says, "use and cultivate all your mental and bodily powers, and in good relationship, in correct proportions." (27, vol. 30, p. 272.) Such use of one's powers must lead to happiness. The goal of usefulness and happiness is not to be gained in any one way because of the varying power of the individual. Although a man of books he looked with favor on hand work of all kinds. Perhaps this was due to his feeling of failure at times that he was more or less useless. To the students of the Weimar gymnasium he once suggested with warmth that they should be business men, men in various occupations; for the men of letters are the most unhappy of all; and, according to the conditions of the time, they must continue to be so from year to year. The handicraft man, the artist, the business man, is more useful than the superfluous half-cultivated painter of letters. "Awaken other talents in you," he said, "and turn them in a better direction to be useful. Do what you can

do and should do for the purposes that God and Nature have designed you. And do not choose your work for outer rank or appearance. Time will give you approval." (27, vol. 30, p. 236.)

To be useful, to Herder really meant the doing of that part of the world's work that he was best fitted naturally to do.

Knowledge as an aim in education Herder naturally deemed important; but he insisted in season and out of season that one should not study for the love of study, "but for life, i. e., for its use and direction in all the problems and professions of man." (27, vol. 30, p. 124.) In this respect he departed very far from the prevalent school practice of his day. Had he known the modern philosopher Bergson he would have agreed with him that "life is not for knowledge but knowledge for life."

Knowledge without morality to Herder could include only half of the school instruction and the cultivation of youth (27, vol. 30, p. 153), and he intimates frequently that knowledge without morals is worse than worthless. It can serve no good purpose; for even the demons have understanding, and in the hands of a villain knowledge only promotes evil. (49, p. 22.) "A good head with a bad heart is like a temple by a murderer's grave, and good knowledge without morality, without education, is like a pearl in the mud." (27, vol. 30, p. 51.) Along with knowledge there must be the will to choose the right, otherwise



the knowledge is false. Knowledge has become a luxury so that men have often become slaves to it without the gaining of true culture. (27, vol. 30, pp. 231, 232.) Understanding must be accompanied by active kindness. Learning life means to give one's impulses the right direction, to purify one's actions and resolutions. A strong moral character is the chief end of education. (49, p. 22.)

Religion was regarded by Herder as the most sublime flower of humanity, and the Christian religion naturally offered the highest humanity. Everything that morality has to present is to be found also in the Christian religion, but in a more glorious way. Religion gives one confidence that a higher wisdom grants the victory to the morally good. To make man a moral-religious being was then the supreme end of all education. (49, p. 24.) The school must be a workshop of the Holy Spirit and all that is taught there must be holy.

Another important problem in education is the development and cultivation of taste. Taste Herder believed to be closely allied to and inseparable from truth, beauty, and virtue, the three graces of human knowledge. He who would have beauty without truth might as well stop the wind from blowing; and he who would have truth and beauty without virtue is a shadow chaser. The truest, richest, most useful, in short the most cultivated sciences, are also the most beautiful. All the rules of the beautiful are as nothing if they do not serve truth and

goodness. Any school subject, Herder assures us, becomes beautiful when it is made attractive and agreeable, because it is learned with pleasure and love, because it is taught humanly. (27, vol. 30, pp. 72-83.)

In the schools Herder saw the hope of society and the state for the future. The schools must make good citizens, German citizens. The citizen must be useful to himself and others, and the school must help to make him so. Indirectly he suggests that there ought to be an opportunity in the schools to fit boys to be weavers, cooks, etc., but he gives this only a fleeting consideration because as he said it would take seven schools instead of one and thirty teachers instead of six or seven. The financial problems in the duchy of Weimar were so acute that Herder dismissed the idea as being impracticable. But he had great faith in the disciplinary value of the school in the promotion of what was valuable in life. "We are human beings before we are professional, and woe to us if we do not also remain human beings in our future calling. Man's mental faculties must be properly cultivated. If his understanding is sharpened and polished he will be able to use it afterwards according to his heart's desire and the needs of the situation." (27, vol. 30, p. 123.)

The aping of the Latin and French languages Herder could never tolerate. The artificial and superficial scholarship of his day brought out

his most delicious irony. His study of history showed him that the mother tongue was the language used by all the great Roman and Greek poets and authors. "Homer, Demosthenes and Cicero did not speak in borrowed tongues. Which of them would have given up his mother tongue? The dead languages to us for practical purposes have lost nearly all their thunder and striking beauty. The Roman language has too long been monarch while the German tongue has languished in the filth. Happily that time has past. Some would say that our language is too crude in the mouth of the poet, too prolix for the speaker and too inflexible for the singer. But is not all of this so characteristic of the German language that in the mouth of a German it sounds musical?" "A creative genius can change its hardness of expression, its inflexibility into German majesty." And why should we waste time in thinking about the scholar and forget humanity? The scholar who knows foreign languages and is ignorant of his own, who is a teller of the words of the ancient Greeks and Romans becomes a laughing stock in every line of a German letter—and yet is he not a great scholar? "He who does not understand the new poets of his fatherland, oh! why did not Providence cause him to be born a thousand years ago. In the chaos of barbarism he would be an apostle of eloquence; now he is an amusing smatterer (*Vielwisser*)." (27, vol. 30, p. 13.)

Every school should undertake to sharpen the understanding and patriotic judgment of the youth so that he may think correctly, speak readily, and express himself readily in writing. Learn German, for you are Germans, learn to speak and write it in every form; the time demands it. (27, vol. 30, pp. 241, 242.)

In his idea of the development of the whole man, Herder naturally considered health the basis of happiness and usefulness, although the references to it in his writings are meager and general.

To be educated means to be "*ein ganz gesunder Mensch fürs Leben*," but is he to be found or is he to remain the creation of a fertile imagination? Humanism looked to the classic days of Cicero for the cultured man, and Naturalism found primitive man to be perfected humanity; but Herder discovered the completely developed *Mensch* in ancient Greece. He was not to be found in primitive times for humanity needed to be developed, cultivated. Germany had too long suffered under the yoke of Rome. What was Rome's culture? Nothing but a shadow of the divine human culture of the Greeks. In imitating an imitation the German had failed to develop his own natural genius. If Greece instead of Rome had been the model for Northern Europe! It was among the Greeks that the idea of humanity became flesh. The Greek culture, to Herder, did not seem to be a special

culture like that produced among other peoples, but a perfect expression of nature. Therefore it had a universal significance. In the works of Greece, Germany must find her true models. Humanism and rationalism had never learned what poetry was. In the ancient Greek world we find the flower of poetry, history, art, wisdom, and beauty. But in the study of the Greeks we must be careful not to imitate them. We must get the kernel of humanity, its inner spirit, to implant it in the heart of the youth. The Latin language has kept our culture in chains for centuries. Our acquaintance with the world of the Greeks will set us free, will make us men. "We will not possess Greek art but Greek art shall possess us." (77, pp. 281-283.)

At the close of his catechism published in 1798, Herder appended some rules for life (*Lebensregeln*) which present what might be regarded as those values in education most worth while. They were intended originally, of course, for the youth. Because of their simplicity, directness, and concreteness I am moved to translate them. They run as follows (27, vol. 30, pp. 390-393):—

(1) "*Keep your body and your soul healthy; for they are gifts of God. Without health we can neither do our duty nor be happy in life.*


(2) "*Your body will be kept healthy if you are temperate in eating and drinking, in sleeping and being awake, in rest and work, and above all if you do not carry any pleasure too far. Pure air,*

wholesome food and drink and active exercise strengthen the body; unwholesome air and food, uncleanness, idleness, debauchery, and irregularity make the body weak and sick.

(3) "*The mind keeps itself healthy* if it is active in its work, without evil passions, without lewdness, envy, hatred, anger, and ill humor. Through patience one learns to endure the evil; through practice even that which is most difficult becomes easy. Do not trouble yourself about strange things but do what comes to you gladly, cheerfully, and devotedly. Do not put off until to-morrow what you can and should do to-day. Do not be distrustful of God, but have confidence in him; he will bless your work.

(4) "*Man maintains himself through order*; so bring order into your life. Look upon it as a continuous education in which one period of life is built upon another and inherits from it profit or loss. Every day with every new opportunity and event you must also learn something useful. Ask yourself every evening what you have learned or done to-day that was useful. Otherwise the day is lost and your life is not worth while.

(5) "*The best that you have to learn in life is that you are always to become a better man*; more intelligent and skillful in your duty, thankful to God, kindlier and more useful to other men, discreet and cautious in prosperity, courageous in misfortune. Such a man may well be



content; the respect and confidence of others follow him. Evil ones avoid him; the good love him; he is a child of God, for he acts like Him.

(6) "*Let nothing be holier to you than your conscience and your duty.* Upon this depends your inner happiness, your honor and good name. An unconscientious, irresolute man is respected by nobody; for why should he who cannot trust himself expect the confidence of others?

(7) "*A man must live decently,* or he is baser than an animal. To wash his body and keep it clean, to provide for adequate, modest fitting clothing for the body, in his dwelling to be industrious for the sake of health, cleanliness, and order; to repulse what is loathsome and offensive becomes the man who is not to live alone but in a society with others. Likewise abstain from coarse manners, indecorous deportment; they easily become habits and alienate others from you.

(8) "*God has given you as a human being a language, so learn to converse intelligently, clearly and pleasantly.* This you will learn if you observe others who speak intelligently, clearly and pleasantly. Do not interrupt anybody in conversation, for this is a sign of an uncouth person. Do not give an answer before you are asked, and then speak considerately, pleasingly and modestly. Nothing recommends a person more than an open countenance and an intelligent modest speech.

(9) "*To express yourself intelligently learn to read and write.* By learning to read we not only learn the word of God but also the thoughts of other men; through writing we are able to communicate our thoughts to others. Through both we aid our memory, and make for order in our business. A man who cannot read and write is cheated many times, and is often obliged to pay for his ignorance in regret, livelihood, loss and chagrin. To read and to write gives man a manifold use of his reason, and makes him useful for himself and other people.

(10) "*Love your fatherland;* for you owe thanks to her for your life, your education, your parents and friends; in your native country you have enjoyed the happy years of your childhood and youth. Then become also useful to her and worthy. Take notice of her laws; otherwise you will be punished or deceived. But do not be her judge; rather be active for her. He who contributes to the common good is a worthy child of his fatherland.

(11) "*Learn early to know why you are in the world,* and what you can do best; in this look for the purpose of life, and do not allow yourself to be betrayed by any false charm. That man is happiest who is in his place and carries on his business with skill, pleasure, and love. To him the day's work is sweet; his exertions themselves are a reward.

(12) "Reason and justice are the rules of human

life. In everything then learn your time, your power, your capacity according to what is given and what is received; learn to consider your duty, and guard yourself that you do not demand from others what is unjust or show yourself in any way unjust to them. Reason and justice to others make other people reasonable and just to us; thoughtful courtesy wins hearts; the tie among men is uprightness and love. This God binds and blesses."

There was a bigness about Herder's conception of education that grips the imagination. He was not wedded to the narrow pedagogical traditions of the past. The end of education was not to produce round-shouldered, anæmic bookworms groveling in a blind worship before the fetish of the study of the Latin grammar. Neither was he interested in promoting a silk gloved aristocracy. Man must be considered as a human being first of all. What are his innate tendencies? To foist upon him a kind of veneered culture which was repulsive to his nature was absurd and criminal. He saw clearly that any kind of educational scheme which lost itself in the consideration of mere knowledge, no matter how legitimate, could not hope to succeed. Education must lead the individual to express himself, for in this expression of himself he was to realize his nature and destiny, which was a rich humanity, a participation in the life of the world as a citizen of the world. To be happy, to be useful, to have refined feelings,

to be guided by goodness, truth, and beauty—these were the destiny of man.

Back of all this was the inspiration of a great vision. The universe was in a process of change, of evolution, of becoming. The purpose of education was to work in sympathy with this cosmic process, to bring each individual to the fullness of health and the expression of his own innate genius. Such a vision of progress could not help but lead to faith and confidence. To his myopic contemporaries who lost the glory of this onward push of things, he could reply "that the melancholy wanderer sees too little on his way. If he extended his view, and impartially compared with each other the times that we most accurately know from history, farther if he investigated the nature of man, and weighed what truth and reason are, he would doubt as little of their progress as of the most indisputable physical truth." (25, vol. 2, p. 302.)

This larger philosophical world in which Herder loved to revel did not prevent him from seeing it in relation to concrete courses of study, life, and the needs of society. Theoretically, and to some extent in practice, he combined in a splendid way the cultural with the practical. Considering the age in which he lived is it not rather remarkable that he should have grasped the meaning of life and education in such a modern way? The *Sozial-Pädagogik* of Germany and the much heard of social education here in America are well compre-

hended in his educational philosophy. The efforts of modern Germany, however, to promote a narrow kind of German citizenship, he would little appreciate. He hated anything which suggested bigotry and conceit. The boys and girls were to be genuine Germans first but also citizens of the world.

To get a comprehensive idea of Herder's ideal of education let us pass in rapid review the following principles which have grown out of the development of this chapter:—

(1) The aim of education should be the complete and symmetrical development of all the native powers of the individual, of the natural man.

(2) This development should not be for the school but for life, to fit man to be a happy and useful member of society.

(3) Religion and morality are the noblest fruitage of humanity.

(4) Knowledge should be useful for life.

(5) Action rather than knowledge leads to self-realization.

(6) The educated man should have taste, a love for the good, true, and beautiful.

(7) Health is the foundation of usefulness and happiness. Man should have a healthy mind and body.

(8) The schools of Germany should make German not Roman citizens.

(9) An educated man should be able to read, write, and converse intelligently and readily in his mother tongue.

(10) Culture must be native to a people; it cannot arise through the imitation of the Greeks, Romans, and French; it must be an expression of the life of the people themselves.

(11) The model of perfect humanity was the ancient Greek. The Greeks must not be imitated but they should be studied so that the true nature of man, the idea of humanity, may be understood and planted in the soul of the youth. This was the ideal of New Humanism.

CHAPTER X

TRAINING, THE MOTHER OF PERFECTION*

Self-activity the Basis of all Learning—Children Naturally Active—The School a Place for Training—Self-activity Confined Largely to Mental Activity—The Foe of Soft Pedagogy—Summary.

Herder's conception of the aim of education as the highest and best that the human soul could realize, a kind of culture which should be natural, genuine, personal, an integral part of the self, must be regarded as one of the broadest and finest conceptions of education recorded in pedagogical literature. And his belief in the way this ideal was to be realized, while not without its serious defects, was unusual in his day, and showed a remarkable insight into child psychology and human nature, and reveals him again as a man of modern appreciation. His active career as an educator and teacher had closed long before Froebel appeared as the great expounder of self-activity; yet Herder's pedagogical and philosophical writings repeat almost endlessly that the individual must find his realization in his own activity, in *Übung*. "*Übe dich*," exercise yourself, train yourself, was the categorical imperative which Herder would have reign in all

*The material for this chapter was drawn largely from Herder's essays, "Von Schulübungen," 1781 (27, vol. 30, pp. 60-72), and "Von Schulen als Uebungsplätzen den Fähigkeiten," 1799. (27, vol. 30, pp. 253-262.)

the lessons and accomplishments of the school. To him it was the soul of method in teaching.

The tendency to act, Herder observed, was one of the striking characteristics of humanity, especially of childhood. "Why does the Creator give to youth cheerfulness, and active unrest, and their sister, insatiable curiosity? For no other purpose except that humanity be led to act with all its powers. Behold the movements of the eyes, feet, hands, tongue, lips, and face. The nimble fingers are the creators of art and many of the comforts of life. Our body is built for action, and all the powers of the mind are accompanied by this tendency to act. To the healthy child or boy, to the happy, cultured, joyous youth nothing is more repulsive than inactivity; a life without action is like death; gay, also severe activity brings him joy and health." (27, vol. 30, pp. 253, 254.)

Although inherent genius was not discredited Herder believed that there was no royal or passive road toward self-realization. "At no time," he said, "does the master of life fall from heaven; the only road to learning, to perfection, is through practice." (27, vol. 30, p. 71.) What we are to become depends always on what is within and the training we receive. The uncultivated mind is like the undeveloped seed, like the rough precious stone; the untrained human being is a coarse, rough person, a *brutum*. (27, vol. 30, p. 253.) The soul of knowing, of becoming, of learning, is

founded on practice. "We know only what we practice; we are able to do only what we have done." (27, vol. 30, p. 48.)

Practice Herder saw related to all that was learned. "Seeing, hearing, walking, and the command of language have all been learned through practice. Our knowledge, habits, and skill are all the result of practice. He who fears work and practice is a weak, sick, half-cultivated, uneducable man; he who rejects no practice, that man is capable of being educated; he will become a broadly cultivated human being."

In company with our most modern educators Herder discovered one reason, the chief reason, why the school method was so badly adapted to the child. "Observe the young brood of the lower classes, with what joy and pleasure they give themselves up to the activities of youth. To race and run is their joy; nothing is perhaps more unbearable than sitting still. A class of poor pigmies who only exercise their *Sitzfleisch* is a sad, sad, sad spectacle. The young people, like a flock of birds, take wings as soon as they are dismissed from school. What can be done to lead the children to love the school?" (27, vol. 30, pp. 254, 255.)

Herder's answer to this question is suggestive. The school must be a place for action, for training, for *Übung*. In spite of his recognition of the place of activity, both mental and physical, in the life of children and youth, he allowed in his

scheme for education little place for muscle education although he seemed to have approved of all the handicraft professions. According to his conception the school as an *Übungsort* was to train the children in mental activities. In the gymnasium he believed there should be training in everything that was good. In one of his *Schulreden*, he says that to speak correctly and pleasantly, to write skillfully and correctly, to narrate, to express one's self, "to reckon, to draw, to learn, to listen and to give answers to what is said and what is not said, by heaven, all these things demand many fine and long continued practices, which are the spirit of learning and the soul of instruction." (27, vol. 30, p. 256.) In still another *Schulreden* he says of the education of the youth in the gymnasium, "Should he not also learn to love and hate, to attract and repulse? Should he not also be trained in virtues, in strength of character, in temperance, effort, moderation, wisdom, and decency? Without training one does not acquire these excellencies." (27, vol. 30, p. 261.) It is evident that the training of greatest worth is the training in morality. In the training of the complete man, however, he refers to training or practice in everything. The youth must exercise his powers of attention to the highest degree, he must be able to translate the classical authors into as pure and beautiful a way as his mother tongue will allow, he must use his senses to understand the world round about him;

in all the fundamental school arts, such as reading, writing, counting, and spelling, the mind of the youth is to be abundantly exercised.

A school which disciplines, which has much and strenuous training in what is good, in every form of goodness, so that the youth is cultivated, is a good school. A gymnasium which becomes a daily battlefield for noble young souls in the training of capacities and virtues industriously and with emulation is a truly good gymnasium. When this practice of knowledge and morality is not found, the school is like a dead sea, even if all the muses dwelt in it and around it. A school without *Übung* is not only unprofitable and lazy but poisonous. Youth must be moulded in some way or it will misbuild itself. (27, vol. 30, p. 48.) Let the school be an *Übungsort*.

To Herder the pupil is not a passive being but one whose nature fundamentally craves and demands action. It is through action alone, either physical or mental, that he is able to learn. Out of action grow the habits which make him what he is. The idea that the learning of words makes one educated he belabors with all his might. Mere words to him are as shells; unless they are associated with thoughts they are learned like a parrot, who may or may not say the right word at the right time or in the right place. Word instruction, learning by heart, does not train the spirit and will. To learn words without thoughts is like taking a deadly opium, which at first

produces a sweet dream. It is as if he were in an enchanted land, but soon he awakes to feel the consequences of the narcotic. In the study of philosophical and poetical works, the youth reads like Hamlet words, words, words. Instead of being illuminated by a living imagination, what are they? Only word shells, opium dreams. And the lazy human being is kindly disposed toward them. It is easier to speak words than to think thoughts. Oh, how many empty words the child learns. How many empty word forms are used in conversation when often the words that would express what is in our minds are already in our heads. By the use of word shells the youth finally becomes a slave to strange thoughts and opinions without feeling the chains that bind him, without his striving to become free and self-active. He is and remains for a lifetime an imitator and trifler with words. The monkey in the fable lamented because the beautiful larva was so deficient in brain. Well might we say to many a writer and speaker, "beautiful clear-sounding word machine, it is a shame that you think as little as a piano or speaking machine." Words are mere instruments which I must learn through the exercise of my own powers, in my way, or they are not learned. (27, vol. 30, pp. 266-268.)

Why is the scholar so often called a pedant? If it is because he is so often ignorant of the newest and most arrogant manners and usages of society he should be excused; but if it means one who

learns much but can use it for no practical purpose, who reads much that is worthy and important but has no self-expression, who reads the best but is unproductive himself, who lacks practical judgment and application, perhaps the name is merited. Let us save the youth from the fate of knowing words without things, of learning without the application of self. We must observe and guide with Argus eyes the training of youth. Instead of allowing the mind of the youth to slumber we must see that it is exercised, trained. It is not the sowing of the field alone that produces the beautiful and bountiful harvest; it must be cultivated. (27, vol. 30, pp. 60, 61.)

Herder's definition of a school as "a place where we learn a language, an art or a business fundamentally and according to rules, where we practice ourselves according to these rules, and make them habits, where our mistakes are thoroughly shown and corrected in the easiest manner" (27, vol. 30, p. 91), would be hard to find fault with. The end of life was not to be the mere cramming of the head with facts. Life demands action, adaptation, the conquering of difficulties, and the way to meet the situations of life successfully is to have the right kind of habits. How far Herder was in advance of his time here is shown by our teaching of hygiene in American schools. For decades we have been teaching the dry-as-dust facts of anatomy and physiology without making much of an impression

on the lives of pupils or communities. We have only just begun to realize that mere knowledge about health does not promote health unless it functions in habit. Mere word instruction about hygiene still dominates the majority of the American schools.

In the method of getting *Übung* Herder departed far from his esteemed contemporary, Basedow, whom he regarded as a charlatan. Basedow would teach by making use of plays and games. He would make learning easy. This seemed rather flippant to Herder. To him the school was a place for earnest work, and it was only in this way that man could be educated. Herder looked with contempt on Basedow's hothouse methods. It reminded him of a stable full of human geese. He declared he would not even give Basedow a calf to educate. Here Herder could not depart from the school traditions of his time, and possibly from the experiences of his early youth.

True education, Herder thought, could be accomplished only through hard work. Through learning, through hard learning, through tedious, complete comprehension we get strength and pleasure to grasp more, to learn what is most difficult. A good school is like a hive of bees which fly out and collect honey; the sluggish school is like a drove of burdened animals which go to and fro wherever they are driven. (27, vol. 30, p. 70.) The gods grant us nothing without

effort; their noblest gifts are not given in vain. All fundamental knowledge must be learned with sweat and *Übung*. Only work, honest strenuous work, leads to the goal.

Probably no writer ever made a more vigorous attack on "soft pedagogy." "Go in through the narrow gate," he said, "for the gate to usefulness, to worth, to immortality, is small, and the way is narrow, and there are few that find it. But the gate to pleasure, to luxury, to fashionable study and easy method is wide and there are many who wander into it; but it leads into the abyss. He who does not sow in the spring, cannot harvest in the autumn; he who does not take pains in his youth and get practice, struggle with the sciences, languages, difficulties and obstacles, and gain the victory over them, will not be crowned in the years of honor, and in the years of repose he will be despised." (27, vol. 30, p. 60.)

Because Herder believed in the necessity of work in the learning process, it did not follow that he thought of the school as an unhappy place. His success as a teacher showed that this was not true in his own schools. He believed happiness to be based primarily on the exercise of man's powers. He believed also in appealing to the interests of the child. In a very limited way he even advocated play in the schoolroom, a play, for example, of wit and perception to find likenesses and differences between things. (27, vol. 30, p. 258.)

The idea which Herder advanced so strongly that "the youth is made for all sorts of activity of mind and body," both of which he designated as fundamentally "elastic and plastic," and that he has a superfluous amount of energy for activity was, of course, essentially in keeping with the teachings of modern psychology, as was also his thought that habits and skill depended on the proper self-expression of this energy. While he seemed to recognize theoretically the need of directing this superabundance of energy, neither in his theory nor in his practice did he provide for any such condition. Unfortunately he seemed to see only the great need of mental self-activity. His shortcomings here were probably due to pedagogical traditions and the peculiarities of his own childhood.

In summing up Herder's ideas on *Übung* let us note that Herder believed that—

(1) Man is by nature organized for action; from childhood on he is constantly striving to act in as many ways as possible.

(2) Nothing is more repulsive to a child than inactivity.

(3) It is only through the use or training of man's powers that he can develop his humanity, become truly educated.

(4) The activity of self, not the mere learning of words, is the soul of all learning.

(5) The school should be an *Übungsort*, a place for practice and training.

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(6) This practice should result in habits and **skill**.

(7) Learning is serious business and cannot be accomplished through play and in an easy way, but only through work.

CHAPTER XI

OTHER METHODS OF TEACHING

A Critic with a Program—The Child in the Center—Training of the Senses—The Child Should Learn First About His Immediate Environment—Happiness Should be Associated with Learning—The Value of a Public Examination—A Method for Teaching Every Subject—Directions for the Instruction of His Own Children—Summary.

Following the lead of Rousseau, Herder reacted sharply against the methods of teaching of his day; yet he realized that improvement had been made. In a *Schulrede* "On the Improved Methods of Teaching of Our Time" (1780) (27, vol. 30, pp. 52-60), he says that it cannot be denied that since the sciences themselves have reached a higher degree of perfection better methods of teaching have arisen. Referring to the previous age, he says that in the days when science was nothing more than a dictionary of names with abstractions and hidden meanings, it could be taught only by compelling the child to memorize, and this was done badly. There was then much argument over many things that were not found in nature; there were battles over accepted formulas and distinctions. Experience and investigation were banished, so the methods of teaching were like the science itself, a cobweb. Herder felt a new spirit at work. Within two centuries he notes that science and mathematics have

acquired a better foundation, and have been dragged from the prison of scholasticism into the light of experience. The subject-matter in the various studies have freed themselves from much fable and superstition. The boy, he says, now learns a better history, geography, and natural philosophy. In the philological sciences, he notes with satisfaction the numerous collections of the editions of the old writers and the many helps conducive to intelligent and critical study. The student is able to discard many useless shells on which those of a previous age were obliged to chew, and is able to get at the kernel itself. The helps for the study of the so-called Holy Scriptures have also greatly increased; the Bible is read and explained like any other book, from a human point of view. All such progress naturally influences method. The more in any science the light is separated from the darkness, the true from the false, and the useful from the superfluous, the better it can be taught and it can also be learned with greater ease and pleasantness, and is likely to be more useful; for where there is light one can see, and where there is order one can get a broader vision and find treasures.

This appreciative and hopeful attitude toward the educational practices of his day is rather unusual in his writings. Ordinarily he is a severe critic, but a critic with a program. In the previous chapter we have noted his deep seated antagonism toward the shells of word instruction, without

a knowledge of things, and his conviction that education is dependent on *Übung*, on strenuous activity.

Let us note other fundamental principles of method in his educational philosophy.

Stimulated by Rousseau, Herder endeavored to put the whole educational process on a psychological foundation. With rare human insight, he felt that the child with his interests, his capacities, his possibilities, should be placed in the center, that subject-matter should be adapted to his dawning powers.

As an ardent advocate of the study of things, he naturally believed in the training of the senses. Since the first conceptions of the child are aroused through the senses, sense training he believed should come first. It is impossible for ideas or concepts to develop unless they have a foundation builded on experience. The teaching of words must be connected with the teaching of things. The school must promote the growth of minds dealing with words which represent concrete things. This is only possible when the things that are talked about are seen, heard, and touched by the pupils. Powerful, vivid, and truthful thoughts arise only through powerful, vivid, and truthful sensations which impose themselves upon the mind and form a permanent possession of the pupil. (49, pp. 48, 49.) One loses his youth, says Herder, if he does not use his senses. A mind free of sensation is like a barren desert, and in the painful

condition of being annihilated. Herder tells us of his experiences at Riga when, after a long period of abstraction, he felt, in this condition of complete passivity, weakness and annihilation. It is then that one experiences moments in hell. The mind of the child becomes accustomed to such things when he is led to abstract thinking, without a living world of things. Let us escape this mere shadow world without things, of language without thinking—that is torment, that ages the soul. (37, p. 16.)

As a natural result of his conviction that the senses ought to be trained, Herder believed most firmly that the child should begin to learn about the world near at hand, the things that he comes in contact with daily but does not really know, such as tea, coffee, bread, wine, etc. (37, p. 6.) As the child becomes familiar with his surroundings he is able to pursue with profit that more distantly related.


Herder believed that the schools should not be prison houses but places for happy, active work. This spirit Herder believed the teacher was largely responsible for. "No science is beautiful in itself; by the presentation it will become a desert or an Eden. A genius strikes the soil of language, of mathematics, of philosophy; it was a desert, and flowers spring up. What Midas touched turned to gold." (27, vol. 30, pp. 21-24.)

The importance of getting the attention and interest of the pupil was appreciated by Herder

although he did not develop any systematic scheme for getting and keeping them. He did realize, however, the need of the child studying that which was naturally interesting. For example, in the case of the Latin in the second class at Weimar gymnasium, Herder says that Caesar should not be pursued by pupils of this grade because the things that he tells about often cannot be understood and are seldom interesting. (27, vol. 30, p. 443.)

Curiosity as a motive seemed to Herder to be very powerful. Outside of bodily needs and stimulations it is the first mental impulse which the child expresses. As the plant shoots out of the earth, pressing toward the light and extending its leaves and unfolding its flowers so there is an unknown craving for what? The child, the boy, the youth, is moved toward new things and experiences. As an enemy of passivity it will learn to know, to search for, to exercise itself. Change is its pleasure, activity its play.

Throughout his pedagogical writings Herder refers to schools as prisons where the pupils are forced to go to learn only to forget. The teacher is frequently a stupid dolt without talents or personal charm. "The youth would wander through the pleasure fields of paradise, and the teacher leads him over ice and snow. How gladly he would wrench himself away to search for another leader, but in vain. So he resolves to learn that he may recite and then forget. One



may say what he will; so long as I do not feel any immediate interest in a thing, I do not choose it. Interest is the leading string that binds the youth. What better encouragement have we? Is there anything better? The instruments of the school? Oh, these can punish badness but do not awaken virtues. Rebuke which will touch the ambitions? This means is only for sensitive dispositions, only in the beginning, and must be used seldom if it is not to lose its worth. The idea of future need? Oh, it is unfortunate that the need must be restricted to the future, that the youth must go out of his age to feel it, something that he is very adverse to doing. The storm is still far distant, the danger is to be overtaken, the harvest is still in the future. I can slumber. But this is a duty which you owe to your God and your parents. Owe? Oh, that is hard, one gets a grudge against his elders." He either becomes disobedient or a hypocrite. "A sad destiny," says Herder, "and there is a remedy, to attach to the sciences and virtues an interest" (*Reiz*).

"Behold, O Youth," says Herder in the full flush of a youthful enthusiasm, "I will not make your youthful days vexatious, but rather pleasant. We shall wander on flowers, give me your hand and I will lead you to happiness." The teacher is to be as a fellow-student, a companion, a co-worker; he is to kindle his pupils with his fire as one coal lights another. From him they will learn wisdom.

All that we know about Herder tends to show that he was just the kind of teacher that he tries to describe. Unlike Herbart, who laid the scientific foundation of method, Herder had little system in his methods. He held his pupils by the magic of his personality and his boundless knowledge and enthusiasm. Little wonder that the scales dropped from their eyes, and they saw a new heaven and a new earth. "A dead ontology, cosmology, psychology, theology, logic, ethics, politics, natural philosophy, etc.," he says, "pleases nobody; make the truths of these sciences living, put them in the true light of their origin, of their relationship, of their needs, their application; bring them so close to the soul that it discovers with the discoverer, observes with the observer, judges with the wise, applies and carries out the truth with the good." (27, vol. 30, p. 80.)

The public examination which was so common in Herder's time, he firmly believed in, but he had his own ideas as to its values and the ways in which it ought to be conducted. (27, vol. 30, pp. 207-216.)

The aim of the examination, he said, should not be to review the studies of the entire year. How could that be possible in so short a time? Still less should the teacher have the idea of presenting entertaining, brilliant lessons.

The purpose of the examination, according to Herder, should be threefold:—

(1) The teacher should show publicly how he has spent the year.

(2) The pupils should show how they have profited by the instruction, and take the opportunity to demonstrate publicly their industry and gifts.

(3) The classes should be compared so that it may be discovered what harmony or discord in work or methods prevails.

Such an examination is no play, no useless custom handed down. It is what a review is to troops. Defects are to be corrected, mistakes and confusion abolished, complaints heard, disobedience rightly pointed out, industry praised, laziness criticised, and concerning all this an impartial report rendered. Without examination and visitation every public institution will fall asleep.

Herder realized that the teaching of every subject involves special problems, and that no two can be handled by the teacher in just the same way. "Every science," he says, "has its own method, and he who carries over the method from one subject to another is no wiser than he who would swim in the air and sow and plow in the water." (27, vol. 30, p. 55.)

Then the teacher must know the thing that he would teach; he must know it completely. Light is light. He who has seen the light reflects the light without knowing or willing. He who does not know cannot teach; without understanding himself the teacher cannot make others

understand. Neither can one make a science agreeable unless it first of all gives him joy. Every teacher, too, must have his own method; he must practice it with understanding, otherwise it is useless. The blind cannot lead the blind. (27, vol. 30, p. 251.)

It was Herder's custom to write out definite directions for the governess of his children in his own household. Fortunately some of these directions have been preserved. They are in part as follows (27, vol. 30, pp. 424, 425):—

(1) "The order of the work must be so well arranged that every child knows what it is to have on the following day." In this way children will become accustomed to order.

(2) "No work must be too long." Herder deemed it futile to try to get children to attend to the same thing for a long period of time, as it would lead to fatigue and laziness.

(3) "Learn something every day, but only a little by heart, and also write and compose something."

(4) "On Sunday evening the children should be asked whether anybody has read or composed anything (no rule or compulsion should be used). Whoever has done something displays his work and receives praise or instruction. The inquiry should also include that which each likes to do best, what has pleased him most during the week, what contributed most to his happiness."

This latter suggestion was a capital way to

bring out the individual child, to discover his natural interests and tendencies. It reminds one of a practice quite common among kindergartens of encouraging children to fetch from home the things that they like best.

To get a survey of Herder's principles of method as a whole let us summarize:—

- (1) All method must be based on psychology.
- (2) Subject-matter must be adapted to the natural development of the growing child, his mental powers, interests, and capacities.
- (3) Words should not be taught apart from things.
- (4) The child's senses should be trained.
- (5) The teaching of the child should begin with what the child knows, and should make him familiar with his own environment.
- (6) The child's incentives should be immediate.
- (7) The learning process should be accompanied by pleasure rather than fear.
- (8) The teacher should be a co-worker of the pupils, a comrade.
- (9) The teacher must have a thorough knowledge of what is taught.
- (10) Every teacher must have his own method.
- (11) Every subject needs a special method.
- (12) Every school should have public examination to keep it at a high point of efficiency.
- (13) Every child should be dealt with differently according to his capacities and tendencies.
- (14) Lessons should not last too long.

(15) The child should learn something by heart every day, but what is memorized should be understood. Test should be made by asking the pupil to express what has been learned in his own words.

(16) No learning is possible which does not involve the self-activity of the pupil. "*Übe dich*," exercise yourself, is the foundation of all learning.

The student of Herder's pedagogical writings must be struck by their lack of unity and system, and yet amongst the rough and chaotic mass are to be found veins of pure metal. There are few tendencies in present-day methods that were not therein suggested—self-activity, sense training, beginning with the child's experience, making motives immediate, training for habits, etc.

CHAPTER XII

WHAT MAKES A STUDY VALUABLE?

Direct Bearing on Life—Cultivation of General Powers—
Special Values of School Subjects—Enemy of Faculty
Psychology—Stressed Value of Directly Practical.

In estimating the values of any school subject, Herder would ask two questions: Does it have a direct bearing on the problems of life? Does it cultivate the powers necessary for life? The mother tongue, for example, would have a direct value because it would enable one to write business letters and participate as a citizen in the affairs of the day. Herder believed that it would also tend to lead Germany to produce a literature of her own. (27, vol. 30, pp. 12, 13.) A knowledge of geography, too, would have a direct value because it could be used in trade, commerce, conversation, and the interpretation of a newspaper.

But since life requires so many and so varied accomplishments, and since there are so many needs, not all of them being immediate, it would be foolish, says Herder, to ask of everything that is learned, "What can I use it for? Fool, can you survey your life and know all the conditions beforehand into which you can come? Do you know what will be useful in any business, in any minute? When you save money do you ask or do you know definitely beforehand what you will

use it for? If you learn a language do you know with whom you will speak the language?" (27, vol. 30, p. 27.)

Herder conceived the duty of the school as making men—completely developed men mentally—rather than practical workers. If they possessed such power they would be able to apply themselves to practical affairs under every condition. "If the knife is whet," he remarked, "one can cut all sorts of things. Not in every household is there a special cloth laid for bread and another for meat. So it is with the keenness and polish of the understanding. Sharpen and polish it for whatever you will; it is enough, it is sharpened and polished, you can use it as you will. How foolish it is to ask of any study *cui bono?* if it teaches the pupil to learn to use his understanding, his tongue, his pen, if it purifies his taste, sharpens his judgment, and if he is made aware that he has a heart in his breast. Afterwards he may forget dogma and fable, history and poetry, when and where he will, it is well, he has learned of them what he should." (27, vol. 30, pp. 123, 124.)

Each subject he regarded as having special values. Grammar, for example, would teach the logic and philosophy of human reason; in this subject one would find a model for order, exactness, and clearness of understanding for all other science, language, and arts. The human being who had neglected to study his grammar, he affirmed, would learn nothing in life with exactness; at

least, he would not be able to speak and write safely. (27, vol. 30, p. 56.)

Mathematics should be useful, of course, in the ordinary affairs of everyday life, but beyond this Herder thought that he saw some splendid possibilities for mental training. He was opposed to the mere memorizing of the subject. So far as possible, through the skillful questioning of the teacher, the pupil should be led to discover for himself the inner relationships of a thing. Such a procedure would sharpen the understanding, and inculcate in the pupils a desire to deal with everything fundamentally. His attention would also be directed to abstract truths, a value that the study of mathematics has above all other subjects. (49, p. 38.)

Every school subject then according to Herder would have a certain formal value whether its subject-matter related directly to life or not. Although he did seem to heartily espouse the doctrine of formal discipline, he did not support the theory of a faculty psychology, as we usually think of it. "Why is it," he asks, "that we name the powers of thought according to their different relations, imagination and memory, wit and judgment? that we distinguish the impulse of desire from mere will, and the power of sensation from that of motion? The least calm reflection tells us that these faculties are not locally separated as if judgment resided in one part of the brain, memory and imagination in another, the passions

and sensitive powers in a third; for the thought of the mind is undivided, and each of these effects is the fruit of thought. It would be in some measure absurd therefore to attempt to dissect abstract relations as if they were bodies, and to scatter the mind as Medea did the lambs of her brother." (25, vol. 1, p. 136.)

Whenever Herder speaks of a subject as cultivating a certain mental power in particular, as he often does, we must not get the idea that he thought of the mind as a conglomeration of many separate and independent powers. Although the mind had many manifestations, it is, he says, fundamentally undivided, unified, a single energy. Nevertheless so far as his theories applied to education Herder upheld the doctrine of formal discipline, but it is noticeable that subjects are emphasized primarily because of their direct relationship to life's activities and only secondarily because of their formal value. The old humanistic methods of studying Latin grammar he despised because their only claim was mental discipline.

Even if he did indorse the idea sometimes that the training gained in one subject could be carried over to the problems of life without appreciable loss, although they had little in common, it is to Herder's credit that he helped to establish in both theory and practice the idea that school subjects should fit the pupil to cope directly with life, and that they should in themselves be vital, a part of life.

CHAPTER XIII

TEACHING RELIGION TO CHILDREN

Religion not Merely Belief and Knowledge but Ways of Acting—Training Necessary—Learned Theology Disregarded—Vital Truths Illustrated from Everyday Life—Decried Mechanical Memorizing—Proper Use of Memory—Herder Pioneer in Modern Religious Education.

It was only natural that Herder as a preacher should emphasize religious instruction, but his approach to the subject was broad and liberal and practical, far beyond the spirit of his age. He would inculcate true religion in the hearts of the young, for he believed in the time in which he lived that religion was in danger. But he would not have the young grounded and fortified in mere theory, but in character, in ways of acting, in training. (27, vol. 30, pp. 245, 246.) Religion to him was not a mental state of mere belief, knowledge or emotion, but one of action. It is often difficult to see just how Herder differentiates religion from morality. Character, he believed, was to be won by strenuous effort. How did the strong minds, the great souls, of all time distinguish themselves? They were not essentially different from others, but they strengthened and regulated their inner life; they could hold fast to a thought longer and pursue it from all sides, carry on one and the same work longer and more powerfully; they trained themselves more. This stronger


and larger intensity of mental powers was possessed by men like Bacon, Kepler, Newton, Leibnitz, Haller, and Buffon, all skillful, useful people.

In the giving of religious instruction, Herder would have no dead dry moralizing. The rules of the religious and moral life he would have explained and illustrated from ordinary life to support the Bible and history. In that way a more vivid impression might be made. He recognized that few of the children were to become theologians but good, stable, energetic Christians. They should therefore be taught those truths that were clear and had stood the test of time. All that belonged to the learned and bellicose theology he would have omitted. Doubt should not be raised in the minds of the young.

The Bible Herder regarded as the deepest source of wisdom, and the biblical stories he considered as important means toward education. In the handling of the Bible stories he recommended the greatest care. All that was essentially Jewish, not Christian, should be avoided. (49, p. 29.)

The learning of the catechism and memory gems, in which the moral-religious truths and rules of life are expressed, he thought, had great worth; good proverbs and songs were to him the true catechism of the people which they not only gladly committed to memory but bore in their hearts and dispositions.

In his catechism (27, vol. 30, pp. 302-395), which was based on Luther, he took up somewhat



in detail the teaching of the catechism, which he defined as oral instruction by question and answer. Believing most heartily that there can be no learning without *Übung*, he condemns all learning of the questions and answers by heart. The contents of the catechism should be read, explained, and questioned until the meaning is clear to the pupils. One is tormented by learning by heart what is not understood and cannot be explained in one's own words. He likewise forgets, scorns, and despises it. Religious instruction should not come to this. The teachings of Jesus are easy and comprehensible; they should be applied with pleasure; they should be comprehended through understanding, pleasure, and love.

The teacher should be well grounded in the catechism and be able to explain it thoroughly. The training in the catechism should be a cheerful exercise not only of the memory but also of the understanding and heart. Many of the pupils will naturally compete with each other in trying to give the clearest and best answers. The teacher should not rest until through his explanation and reshaping of the questions this result has been reached.

The catechism is to be regarded as a guide or help only. It must not be learned by heart because in many questions and answers there is concealed because of the brevity of the question much that could be explained and clarified by other questions. The fundamental problem in

dealing with the catechism is to break away from the method of learning by heart so that the teacher may catechise freely to impart the truths of Christianity with love and understanding. (27, vol. 30, p. 303.)

But there is a place for the memory. The words of the ten commandments, of the three articles, of the Lord's prayer, the words used in baptism and the Lord's Supper—these must and can be loved above all others, for they are short and easy. The remainder of the Lord's catechism is to be an explanation of these words.

The sayings of the text should not be learned by heart and by every one, for here the teacher must look to the capacities of the individuals and choose from among them. Usually, however, these sayings are so short, beautiful, and sympathetic that children of good understanding and disposition learn them by heart with joy and emulation. They are the selected pearls from the Holy Scriptures which will be for them a rich treasure of inspiration and trust.

In a previous chapter we have translated the rules of life with which Herder's catechism closed. Those rules suggest those things which Herder regarded as of greatest value in life. (See pp. 133-137.)

In all his writings Herder emphasized again and again that it is not through knowledge of words or belief that man is to be saved but through understanding, disposition, and action. He who

would make his life conform to reason and justice is to gain the crown—be a better human being.

In an age noted for its narrow denominationalism and extreme bigotry in regard to religious matters, Herder's vision was unusually clear and human. He refused to believe that God had revealed himself but once, and that his words, as inflexible as cast iron, were necessary for salvation. God was revealed to him not only in the scriptures but in the various manifestations of history and nature. Salvation through mere word knowledge was therefore absurd. All truths must be interpreted and reinterpreted in the light of new knowledge and a world dominated by ceaseless change. He saw the foolishness of trying to convert "a whole world to a verbal faith in philosophy and religion, or to murder men for it with blind but holy zeal." (25, vol. 1, p. 17.) Religion was not to be an end in itself but a means of self-realization, for life. The catechism which he himself wrote was not so different from those in use at that time, but his conception of the way it should be studied and what it should mean to the pupils was unusually intelligent and practical. In the teaching of religion, as in other subjects, Herder rises above the dreary martyrdom of verbal instruction to the thought of imparting truths which the child would understand and take pleasure in, truths which will inspire the right feeling and action. He deserves to be called one of the pioneers in modern religious education.

CHAPTER XIV

WHY AND HOW TO STUDY HISTORY

Meaning of History—Broad as Human Life—Shows Development of Culture and Achievements of Common People—Aims in Teaching History—Relation of History to Events of Present—Use of Maps—Selection of Subject-matter—Stories of Great Men—A Message for this Age.

In his grasp of the scope and philosophy of history, Herder towered above the men of his age. History meant to him something more than a dreary catalog of the names of battles, wars, kings, and laws. History was not a mere jumble, but a unified whole governed by laws as immutable as those of chemistry and physics. Not alone in history but in the universe as a whole, Herder saw everything in a state of becoming. Everything was pushing on toward self-realization; and the crest of this mighty tide was man, its highest manifestation. Whither was the tide setting? What was its goal? A perfect humanity; the splendid possibilities of man coming into his own; a growth based on reason and justice.

The study of history to Herder meant the study of a universal life. Historical study, if it give the right conceptions, must not confine itself to dry, dead, isolated facts concerning wars and kings; history must be broad enough to include the development of a universal human culture. It should show how the various branches

of culture, such as the sciences, arts, manners, and customs, have slowly grown. In Greek history, for example, the culture of the Greeks, their arts, sciences, virtues of citizenship, and love for native land should be presented. Every step in the progress of human development, every great undertaking, deed, invention, or every struggle for the reformation of abuses has its place in historical study, and so the core of history to the student becomes a view of the map of humanity striving with all its burdens, mistakes, and virtues for the best in the human spirit.

History, too, must concern itself not merely with royalty and its conquests but also with the life and the achievements of the common people. Pupils should be given an idea of how the principal arts and sciences came into being, as, for example, navigation, trade, astronomy, the use of the magnet, iron, glass, powder, and printing. "These things," he says, "are the most noteworthy and most useful in history." (27, vol. 30, p. 441.) The most critical examination of some of our school text-books in history which were used almost universally here in America up to within the last 10 or 15 years would show that Herder was here a good century before his time. A hater of mere word instruction, a lover of content, breadth, warmth, life, in history as in other subjects, he could not help but rebel against its butchery by the teacher and its hatred by the pupils. His splendid insight into history likewise

gave him sympathy with its pedagogy. In humanizing history he would also humanize its pedagogy.

This is a critical age in which we are beginning to organize what may probably be called a scientific pedagogy. We are questioning just why we should study certain subjects. We are wondering whether they are worth while. Herder asked these same questions. "Why should we read history? Why should the youth read it?" His answer is worthy of being framed and put into the hands of every teacher of history. "Is it to gaze in astonishment at false splendor?" he asks. "To recite in chronological order, thoughtlessly or with servile awe, the misdeeds which— whoever it might have been—the Greeks, Romans, Dutch, Franks, Huns, Calmuken and Tartars as destroyers of men and devastators of the world began? Those times are past. Judgment, human judgment, should be sharpened and cultivated; otherwise history remains a worn-out or dangerous subject. We should also read the Greeks and Romans with this judgment. Alexander the conqueror of the world, the drunkard, the cruel, the conceited, and Alexander the protector of art, the patron of science, the builder of cities and empire are not one person in the same person, not two persons of the same worth. There are several many-headed or many-faced monsters in history, Augustus, Carl, Ludwig, and others. *History is a mirror of humanity and the age of*

*man, a light of the times, a torch of truth. Through it and in it we must learn to admire, learn what to admire, to love what should be loved, but also to hate, despise, and abhor what is hateful, despicable and abhorrent**—otherwise we should be deceitful murderers of human history.” (27, vol. 30, p. 243.)

In method Herder stood first of all for vitalization. History must become a living thing. “The principles of the government of peoples, of the change in customs, of religion, science, trade, arts, which appear in history should speak to our mind and heart and sharpen our understanding. Herder realized that the narrowness of the field of history presented as well as its aloofness from the pupil’s interest made history a dry subject. History should be presented so broadly and so related to the present, he believed, that the child might wander with the teacher among strange lands and peoples with freedom and intelligence. He strongly recommended the use of maps and pictures, and, with the idea of self-activity in mind, suggested that pupils should make for themselves, through the use of their books, tables showing historical development. Such work would do more for the memory, he said, than a long dictation by the teacher. (27, vol. 30, p. 444.)

Material for historical study, Herder said, should be selected because it was useful and could be understood. For the gymnasium at Weimar,

*The italics are mine.

he favored the beginning of history with simple stories of the great men of the past.

Although Herder probably contributed little or nothing directly to the pedagogy of history, it is conceivable that he might have done so. Nobody had a finer conception of the meaning of history than he, and it is doubtful if anybody had as great an appreciation of its failure in the school curriculum, and understood so well how it might be made vital. Even to-day in our best systems of schools there is so much cramming of dates and facts by little children that Herder still has a message for this age. As an enthusiastic believer in content rather than form, he despised mere knowledge as an aim. Along with the right kind of knowledge there should be an explanation of the causes of historical events. History was not to be studied for its scholastic value alone but for life. It should lead pupils to relive the past so that they might know their own time better, and be led to love, hate, and act in the right way.

CHAPTER XV

THE OLD AND THE NEW GEOGRAPHY*

Herder an Advocate of Modern Methods of Teaching Geography—Close Relationship of History and Geography—How Geography may be made Interesting—Problem Methods—Home Geography at the Beginning—Social Values of Geography—The Selection of Subject-matter.

Teachers of geography are still very much divided as to how the subject should be taught. The traditional method was to instill into minds of the pupils a knowledge of locations on the earth's surface, and the products that came from each. The association between location and products was made in a purely mechanical fashion. Geography was learned in much the same way that a page of the dictionary might be committed to memory. This method is still in vogue, but is being fought by another school of geographers which looks upon geography as the science of the earth as the home of man. It has established certain principles underlying man's response to his environment, so that the student after knowing these conditions may draw certain valid conclusions. The traditional method is thrown overboard almost bodily. The method advanced by this later school, which seems to be

*The references to the study of Geography, when not expressly indicated, are to Herder's excellent and famous *Schulrede* entitled "Von der Annehmlichkeit, Nützlichkeit und Nothwendigkeit der Geographie," 1784. (27, vol. 30, pp. 96-110.)

growing steadily in popularity, is often called the "new method." In the light of this it will be interesting to know that the "new method" in its fundamental aspects and the "traditional method" both existed as early as 1784, and that Herder was a zealous advocate of not the old but the "new." With a modern vision Herder also saw the vital connection between history and geography.

History and geography, he says, are two sisters, twins, who cannot live without each other. History without geography, he likens to a building in mid-air. Of what use is it to the youth if he does know what has happened without knowing where it happened? And why is ancient history often more like a wavering dream than true history? Because it is so often separated from the true geography, and gives an impression of mere shadowy forms which hover in the air. Through geography history becomes like a colored chart for the imagination and memory, yes, even for the judgment itself; for it is only through the help of geography that it is made clear why this and no other people played such a role and no other in the theater of the world. Why should one form of government hold sway here and another there? Why should this empire exist for a long time and that for a briefer period? Why do monarchies and kingdoms follow each other in such a fashion, and in no other way? Why do they happen to have certain boundaries, and

why do they make war on each other or unite? Why do the sciences and the arts take this and no other course, and why should the ball of the world's events be rolled from the heights of Asia through the Assyrians, Persians, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, to Europeans, sometimes here, sometimes there?

To explain briefly, geography is the basis of history, and history is nothing but a geography of the time and people in motion and governed by laws. He who would possess one without the other, understands neither, and he who scorns both should live, not on top of the earth but underneath, like a mole. All the sciences which our century loves, treasures, promotes, and rewards are based particularly on philosophy and history; trade and politics, economics and laws, medical science, and all practical human knowledge and human work are founded on geography and history. They are the theater and the book of the household of God in our world; history is the book, and geography, the theater.

To the suggestion that geography is a dry subject, Herder remarks with humor that in his opinion it is as dry as the ocean, since he knows of few sciences so rich in useful and attractive knowledge, and likewise so necessary for the times, and so suited for the years of youth. He wonders why any noble youth in the most beautiful years of his life should not prefer it to other subjects as soon as it appears to him in the right light,

namely, as the foundation and helper of all the studies which in his century, he says, are most loved and treasured.

When is geography dry? Only when one conceives of it as being nothing but a dry catalog of lands, rivers, boundaries, and cities. Geography under such circumstances becomes not only dry but misunderstood, as is history if it becomes a mere record of the names of worthless kings and dates. Such a study is not only not educative, but in the highest degree discouraging, sapless, and powerless. A great part of the political geography, like the bare political history, has no charms for the youth. But is this true geography? True geography? Is miserable nomenclature a language? Does a vocabulary learned by heart make one a good writer? And would not a human being be regarded as mindless who studied nothing but the lexicon in the learning of Greek and Latin? The names of rivers, countries, cities, battles, kings, and treaties of peace are necessary materials. The structure must be built out of them if it is to be inhabited, otherwise the materials are but stone and mortar. The colors are necessary to the artist but he uses them for a painting. Likewise he who would be a student of geography must use his materials.

What is geography? It means literally *Erdbeschreibung*, the description of the earth. Therefore physical geography is necessary before anything else. Who does not wish to learn about

the wonderful home in which we live with its shifting scenes, to know about the earth's products, customs, religions, and forms of government? All this told vividly (*lebendig*) and clearly as presented in stories of travel awakens in the soul of the youth vivid pictures of the stage on which the heroes of history wandered. (49, p. 34.) From this point of view geography becomes a collection of pictures.

Some of the interesting problems which Herder believed the teacher should take up with his pupils in geography were as follows: How high are the mountains? What rivers run from them? What people live at the highest altitudes? in isolated valleys? on the rivers? on the seashore? What modes of life and arts developed there gradually and naturally? What changes have they experienced? What are the pronounced characteristics of this neighborhood? this climate? this elevation? this depression? What languages, culture, and religions are to be found on the islands, and how were they influenced by the mainlands? What plants and animals are found there? How and by whom were the islands discovered? What was known of them by the Romans, Greeks, and our forefathers? Who were their heroes? What effect did these discoveries have on other lands? Did they profit or lose thereby? Herder says that geography which concerns itself with such problems is so pleasant, so necessary, so useful, and educable that he

knows of no novel which could surpass it. (27, vol. 30, pp. 105, 106.)

The learning of geography to Herder meant something besides the learning of certain facts; it meant their explanation. Let us note one good example of his method of study. Providence, he said, decreed that some nations should live in the dark, others in the twilight, and still others in the light. Very well, but how are these facts to be explained? What are the natural causes that produce such results? Herder would have the meat of the nut and not the empty shell.

The first teaching of geography, Herder thinks, should begin with home geography and should grow out of the child's natural interests. The first lessons might well consider where the monkeys live, where the diamonds are found, where coffee and tea grow, what nations bring them to us, how the people look, etc. In its first stages the geography should be like natural history. The elephant, tiger, crocodile, and whale interest children far more than the eight electors of the Holy Roman Empire. Why should associations be made with kings and battles that mean nothing to children? The Egyptian horse, the Arabian camel, the Indian elephant, and the African lion, are more worthy symbols and coats of arms for particular countries than the shifting shores where peace was made or war begun. Mountains should recall metals and minerals, sources and streams, the movements of the atmos-

phere or the animals or men who live on their slopes.

In the second class (called by Herder the fourth class) the physical geography, the basis of which has been laid in the previous class, should be continued and gradually united with the political geography in such a way that all that is not intelligent and useful to the common man may be omitted. The knowledge gained of countries, peoples, laws, religions, etc., should enable him to understand a newspaper or enter into a conversation about the happenings of the world without embarrassment. In the next class he recommends the combined study of physical, political, and commercial geography. Although he devotes few words to the use of maps, Herder believed thoroughly in their use, and he wrote once to the duke saying "without maps there can be no geography."

In the selection of subject-matter for geography Herder would be guided by what would be necessary, useful, and pleasant to the children. "Geography and history," he believes, "serve the most useful philosophy in the world, namely, the philosophy of morality, science, and art; they sharpen the *sensum humanitas* in every shape and form; they teach us vividly to see and prize our advantages without wishing to condemn or curse any nation of the earth."

Ostermann, in speaking of Herder in relation to geography, says that these ideas of Herder were "the same ideas through the elaboration

of which K. Ritter a few decades later became the founder of the modern science of geography and its new method." (55, pp. 93, 94.)

Herder's essay on the teaching of geography has a freshness and vigor about it that, had it been published and distributed widely during his life, might have greatly influenced the accepted meaning of geography and its pedagogy.

CHAPTER XVI

THE MOTHER TONGUE FIRST

Herder an Inspirer of Modern German Literature—Mother Tongue Basis of Culture—Expression of Soul—Need of Training—Reading—Delivery—Writing—Author of A, B, C Book—Training in Use of Mother Tongue One of Important Aims of the School.


To appreciate Herder's contribution to the study of the mother tongue, we should remember that, when he began his work as a teacher and writer, the German language had little or no standing among scholars and men of letters. It was thought to be almost impossible as an exact and refined instrument of thought. The Latin tongue alone was the language *par excellence*; and German was relegated to the common people as a kind of vulgarism. As an inspirer of a whole school of German writers who gave the Fatherland its finest gems of literature, as an uncompromising champion of the excellencies of the mother tongue, Herder rendered an invaluable service to pedagogy.

Outside of what might be called patriotic reasons, Herder saw the great need of the cultivation of the mother tongue as a necessary road toward culture, for language was to him the language of reason and of social activity, an instrument for all culture and instruction, and the means toward the furthering of humanity. From purely psychological reasons, Herder saw

that this culture could not be built up primarily on a foreign tongue. It must have the bed rock of the native language. All the impressions of early childhood, he said, were closely associated with the words heard at mother's knee. But these original associations laid the foundation for all later and newer impressions. He saw clearly that the mother tongue was a unifying principle in the study of foreign languages, for in the study of any language we must compare it with our own.

Speech to Herder was regarded as an expression of the soul, a representation of thoughts and feelings; it should therefore possess not merely tone but character. As music has a scale on which the voice must be practiced so that it will ascend and descend, so speech has extensive riches in sentiments, sorrows, beliefs, convictions, and emotions of the soul which are to be expressed most vividly, naturally, and pleasantly. This can be accomplished only by practice, for in this as in every other kind of art "the master does not fall from heaven." He is created only by effort, work, training.

Herder realized as we should to-day that the human voice is in great need of training if it is to be an expression of the self and an effective instrument for social intercourse. His description of the conditions that make this training necessary are rather ludicrous but not without truth: "When we come into the world," he said, "we can, it



is true, cry and wail but not speak or converse; we give vent only to animal-like sounds." These sounds are frequently continued in after years, he goes on to say, so that if one stands off in the distance to listen to a conversation, so far away that he cannot hear the words that are spoken but only the accents, he might well imagine a turkey, goose, duck, peacock, or sometimes a canary but not a human voice. For the youth who has an unpleasant dialect—and he may come from either the country or the city—should take pains to cultivate in the gymnasium a human natural speech possessing soul and character, and rid himself of a crying language. He should lose his barking and yelping, his cackling and cawing, his choking and confusion of words and syllables, in short, he should speak the language of a human being and not that of an animal. (27, vol. 30, pp. 217, 218.)

Fortunate, he says, is the child, the youth, who heard in his first years comprehensible, human, pleasing tones, and whose tongue imitated unconsciously. As a youth and man he will never lose the art which he has gained. For we learn to speak only by hearing, and what is learned in early childhood, the habits our tongue has acquired, usually determine our language thereafter. He who has not been fortunate enough to hear good language in childhood must improve his language while the organs of speech are still pliable. He should learn to speak by listening to those whose

language sounds purest, most distinct, most pleasant, and possessing character.

Reading offers this practice, but it should be reading with understanding and feeling. The reading should also involve delivery of every sort. Besides this there should be practice in composition. The school should cultivate and train the language of the pupil. Greece and Rome had such schools in which the flower of the nation was educated. There they contended in emulation to perfect their language, voice, and conversation. In this way these nations became cultivated and wrote their culture in their conversation and literature. The nation that fails to do this remains barbaric; and we should not wonder that we are regarded in such a light as long as we do not cultivate our own language. Young people should observe the speech of each other and make corrections: this is not pedantry, for it puts us in possession of good modes of expression. Conversation should be carried on in the best possible way. There is no more troublesome creature in the human family than a man of stupid speech, and no more miserable member of the human body than a stumbling, stuttering, coarse, foolish tongue.

Everything read should be read aloud. The selections chosen should be varied as to thought and delivery. They should include stories, fables, history, conversation, soliloquies, poetry, odes, hymns, comedy, and tragedy. Training in the

reading of such things gives versatility to mind and conversation. The best that is in a language as well as the best in the translations should be read aloud and learned in every well-directed school. The pupils cannot be expected to be classical poets or writers of prose. The ear, tongue, memory, imagination, understanding, and wit of the studious pupil should be trained. It was only in this way that the Greeks, Romans, French, Italians, and British became cultivated nations. Our writers should be better known. How industriously the Greeks read their best authors, how industriously the noblest Romans read the best Greek writings, how often they copied them, learned them by heart, imitated them, and sought to make them their own!

In addition to good reading, memorizing, and delivery there should be training in writing compositions of all sorts. One must be trained to write if he is to speak correctly, if he is to read and hear accurately. Not a day should go by in which the pupil does not write something for himself. The pen sharpens the understanding, improves the language, and develops ideas; it makes the mind active in a wonderful and delightful way. "*Nulla dies sine linea.*"

Herder's interest in reading was so great that he published in 1787 an A, B, C Book of 18 pages. (27, vol. 30, pp. 293-301.) In his introduction to this book he observes that every intelligent teacher knows by sad experience that the ordinary A, B, C

Book is not at all adapted to beginners. The most difficult words appear on the front page. The children do not understand anything that they spell and read, and learn, not with pleasure and love, but in daily anguish. None of the words which are used in common life are to be found in the ordinary A, B, C Book. Herder promised that his book would solve this difficulty for the most part, and also make the work easier for the teacher and pupils.

The book naturally has many of the shortcomings of the age. Page 1 takes up the small alphabet, the vowels, the diphthongs, the union of consonants, the large alphabet, and the figures. Page 3 begins with the grammar, the declining of articles, and interrogative pronouns. On page 5 the conjugation of verbs is considered. The words dealt with from the very beginning are, however, common words like sky, earth, air, sea, etc. The prayers and proverbs used in the book were all composed of common words. We should consider it a rather dry book for children.

Reading and writing, Herder believed, should be taken up together as soon as possible, as they help each other. The reading and writing, he maintained, should be varied so that they might become entertaining play.

Training in the use of the mother tongue Herder believed should be one of the chief aims of the school. In this he was, of course, far in advance of his time. He was one of the foremost of those

knights who enlisted in the battle royal for the progress of the native language, a struggle which has taken place in every civilized country on the globe. Its rumblings are still heard in our own land. Even ex-President Eliot of Harvard felt it necessary to remind the American people that the power to speak, write, and converse in the English language was one of the first requirements of a cultivated man.

The theory that true culture is dependent on the mother tongue which Herder advanced and so ably defended was championed by men like Fichte and others until now it is accepted without question. The doctrine finally bore its fruit in the practical work of the schools. To-day no student may graduate from a German secondary school who is deficient in the use of the mother tongue.

CHAPTER XVII

WHY STUDY THE CLASSICS?

A Vital Question To-day—Aim not to Write Latin—Get Ideals of Life and Humanity—Grammar to be Learned from Language—Ancient and Modern Languages Taught by Conversational Methods—Aim of Old Humanism Intolerable—Influence of New Humanism on Schools.

One of the most perplexing questions in the whole history of education has been the value of the classics and the place that they should have in the course of study. The battle against any effort to dislodge them is still going on to-day but with diminished vigor and bitterness. In the Germany of Herder's time Greek was little used, and Latin had assumed the most important position in the curriculum. Its rule was supreme, and practically unquestioned, but it had lost its vigor and given place to a dull, dry formalism. Against the domination of this sort of school, Herder raised his voice in eloquent protest.

From his youth up Herder was an enthusiastic student of the classical languages, which he endeavored to know and explain in the spirit of the times in which they were written. He would be a Greek among the Greeks, a Roman among the Romans. The writers of antiquity were his friends, whom he loved above all others for their beauty, grace, and well developed humanity. He never forgot, however, the deadly monotony of the

language teaching of his day. As a result he found pleasure in attacking its accepted values and methods.

"Why should we study the ancients?" he asks. "Not to be able to write Latin, although that is a worthy aim, but to learn the secret of how the ancients thought and wrote. This same value would continue to exist," he says, "even if we were to write in the language of the Hottentot. Even in expressing himself in the language of the Hottentot, he who had drunk from the founts of the Greek muses would soon be recognized. The man who takes the ancients as models may write letters or sermons or receipts but he will never express himself in lame, slovenly, crude German."

"The thought of humanity, i. e., human reason, human understanding, human feeling, is disclosed to him, and so he learns to treasure and love rectitude and truth, exactness and kindness; he searches for these graces of human thinking and manner of living everywhere, and rejoices whenever he finds them; he will try to introduce them into his conversation and his business, whatever it may be, and he will also try to introduce their virtues into his manners; he will be a cultured being and will show himself as such in both the smallest and greatest things." (27, vol. 30, pp. 146, 147.)

The classical tongues to Herder offered models of goodness, nobility, and beauty, and through their study he believed students might get the feeling

of humanity, the truth, and the beautiful in the thought of the ancients, which power might be carried over to their study of the sciences and arts. In marked contrast to the old humanist who sought to write and talk in the language of Cicero, Herder laid emphasis on content rather than form. Students should not be mere retailers in words but students of things in the spirit of the Greeks and Romans. In the traditional Latin school of his day, Herder saw the youth growing weary and his talents being buried in the dust.

Grammar, which Herder regarded as the philosophy and logic of language, he deemed very important because it would impart clearness and accuracy to the learner (27, vol. 30, p. 56) but, he asks, "Is the Latin language to be the chief work of the school?" And his reply is that this can be only a stupid question when applied to children. He insists that for the study of grammar there is no better language than the mother tongue, and even if it is not learned from books, it forms the foundation for the study of all foreign language. But in the learning of grammar he maintains that language is not to be learned from the grammar but grammar from the language. He would have the pupils begin to talk and read the Latin first and then study the grammar afterwards. "It is true," he says, "that Latin is a dead language but it lives in literature; it can live in the school. But it will not be spoken purely and classically. Why not? If the teacher speaks it, if he only chooses

those things that are worth while to speak about in Latin, why not? Is it not better to speak, read, understand, and feel in Latin than to be a mere manipulator of phrases?" (37, pp. 13, 14.)

The French language Herder believed should follow the mother tongue because of its universal use, necessity, and because of its style and expression. In his "Journal meiner Reise" he eulogizes the French language to the skies. He would have the scholar know the French language better than the Latin. Not only did he find the French authors adapted to the school, but the French language itself he counted among the easiest of the languages. He found it to be regular in its grammatical structure, philosophical and rational. All these qualities made the French language a preparation for the Latin.

The French language should be studied as a living tongue. There should be a French teacher of taste and reason able to speak the language. It should not be studied for the eye and through the eye but for the ear and through the ear. The teacher should converse with the pupils about the common things of life. Questions should be asked and answered freely, and the best literature read to cultivate a taste for the beautiful. (37, pp. 12, 13.)

In his later writings, however, we do not find Herder so appreciative of the French language, and it is seldom referred to. The French language, like the nation, he said, had little virtue or inner

strength. The philosophy of the French language, he affirmed, hindered the philosophy of thought. The French language could only be philosophical if it were written by and for somebody besides the French. With such impressions it is not strange that during the Weimar period Herder believed the study of French to be unimportant.

To the Greek language Herder turned with enthusiasm as a model of excellence. Latin literature as an imitator of the Greek must be inferior. In poetry, art, history, wisdom, the Greek language was the flower of the ancient world. In its structure, coherence, content, and grace of expression he found it also superior to all other languages. The genius of the Greek masters was mirrored in their language. The aim in the study of Greek, according to Herder, was to gain an entrance into the ideal world of the Greek thought and civilization. The student was not to lose his own individuality through this study nor was he to imitate the Greeks; he was to learn how to live in the spirit of the ancients. He was to find the secret as to how he might develop his own humanity.

Both the aim and the method of the old humanistic instruction Herder found unendurable. It was absurd and disgusting to try to make Romans out of the German youth; it was equally foolish to do it through the method of a dry grammatical study. The student should be immersed in the ancient civilization so as to get its inner spirit and

meaning, to see the world as the ancients saw it; but he should remain a German, a German with ideals, feelings, and aspirations made purer, better, higher, because of a sympathetic insight into the spiritual and æsthetic life of the great masters of Greece and Rome. This was the message of Herder to the defunct Latin school. It said as plainly as could be, "You are not fulfilling your mission. You are feeding the youth on husks and shells. Find the spirit of the classics, especially of the ancient Greeks." This meant a particular emphasis on Greek and new ideals of classical study; its purpose was to be for life, its goal a New Humanism.

Through the influence of Wilhelm von Humboldt many of these ideas of the New Humanism were adopted in the German schools. More time was devoted to the study of Greek; the worship of Latin grammar tended to give way to an appreciation of the classics as literature.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE SCHOOL ORGANIZED TO PROMOTE BOTH CULTURE AND UTILITY

Early Conception of Ideal School—A Realschule—Classes—Mental Powers to be Cultivated—Reaction to Latin School—Later Conceptions—Reform of Gymnasium at Weimar—Founding of a Seminary for Teachers— Education of Woman—State Control of Schools—Summary.

When Herder set sail from the harbor of Riga, he fully expected to return and resume his duties as schoolmaster, but with a new vision and insight. He would return to be a second Zwingli, Calvin, or Luther over the land of Liefland, to destroy its barbarism, root up its ignorance, and further culture and liberty. In every land that he visited he would collect data on the customs, manners, virtues, sorrows, and joys of the people, to learn of everything that would make his people happy. Happiness would be his fundamental purpose. He would be a preacher of the virtues of his time. Not with the pen but in more practical ways through culture were miracles to be wrought.

In the glow of his youthful enthusiasm Herder sketched on that memorable voyage from Riga to Nantes a plan for an ideal school at Riga. His whole scheme was based on psychology. Like Pestalozzi, he would psychologize education. His pedagogical structure was to have three stories, for infants, boys, and youths respectively.

In each stage he assumed that a certain mental tendency was paramount, and that certain subjects should be taught in those particular stages corresponding to the child's development and interests. *Sachenunterricht*, instruction in things rather than words, was to be the basis of it all.

Herder's ideal school was to be a *Realschule* having three classes, and each class was to be subdivided into three subclasses. The whole scheme was designed to develop the powers of the child gradually and in the right proportion. Sense training and feeling were to dominate in the first, imagination in the second, and logical thinking in the third. The study of nature, history, and abstraction (i. e., the transition from experience to reasoning, to philosophy) were to be the basis of all culture. Each subject was to be modified, carefully graded in each class, to correspond to the natural development of the pupil.

A bird's-eye view of the plan of the school is indicated below (3, p. 616):—

Class.	Mental powers to be cultivated.	Studies.
First,	Perception and Feeling.	Child must have plenty of sense experience, must interpret the immediate environment of pupil, natural history, stories told from history, catechism, proverbs, and German poetry.

Second, Imagination. Subjects more interrelated, approach now made to science, natural history becomes natural philosophy, mathematics is allied to physics, historical stories become history of people related to geography. Religion is related to humanity and an effort is to be made to develop in a catechism of humanity a thought of a universal humanity.

Memory, curiosity, sense perception, feeling; tend to give way to imagination, a first step on the way to reasoning.

Third, Reason.

Transition from experience to reason complete, natural history, natural philosophy, and mathematics become more scientific and systematic, history and geography lead to politics, industry and culture, religious and humanitarian study is elevated to philosophy, which was to be the result of all practical science.

This ideal school of Herder had some distinctive traits. First of all it was a complete revolt against the ordinary hidebound, formal Latin school of his day. Education, he believed, should fit one for humanity and the whole of life. He refused to believe that the dry, memoriter method of teaching Latin could accomplish this purpose. To teach the child to read, write, and possibly talk like Cicero was a narrow, useless kind of training which did not serve any good purpose. This did not mean that he was opposed to the study of Latin. His admiration of the ancients was as great as that of any student at that time, but he believed that they should not be copied and imitated. The essential thing was to discover how they achieved their greatness, to find the impulses back of what they accomplished. He would greatly reduce the time spent on Latin, and would devote more time to Greek, for the Greeks were the greatest among the ancients. The study of the mother tongue was of the greatest value. He laid particular emphasis also on the study of natural science and history. In theory Herder brought about reconciliation between realism and humanism. Both were to be united under the banner of the New Humanism.

The theories underlying the curriculum were based on psychological conceptions. It was to be adjusted to the developing interests of the child, involve the study of things along with

words, begin with the child's immediate environment, and lead to the more remote.

This plan which Herder worked out with so much enthusiasm on his sea voyage, and which he fondly hoped would lift Riga heavenward, was not put into execution, for Herder never returned. When he accepted the general superintendency of the Duchy of Weimar, many of these ideas, however, were revived, and in a more definite and practical fashion.

The gymnasium at Weimar had reacted sharply against the one-sided culture of the Latin school but had fallen deeply into the mire of utilitarianism. It aimed to give immediate preparation for the service of the state. Military discipline, exercises in fencing, riding, dancing, civil and military architecture, and all kinds of instrumental music were incorporated in the curriculum. In 1783 Herder was called upon by the duke to reform the gymnasium. Unfortunately we do not possess any copy of Herder's plan, but his ideas on the need of reform and his programme are pretty well known through other documents. In about 1778-1779 Herder wrote some suggestions which he believed would help to reform the instruction in the gymnasium. Most of these suggestions referred to improvements in method. He recommended that the time given to Latin be decreased. In a memorial on the reform of the gymnasium presented to the duke on December 14, 1785, he lays bare in no un-

certain way the absolute inefficiency of the school.

Practically all apparatus and material which would help the teacher he finds lacking. To teach without proper equipment is like drawing water with a sieve, says Herder. Without boards or paper there can be no number work or writing, without maps no geography, without specimens from nature there can be no natural history, without physical and mathematical instruments there can be no natural philosophy or applied mathematics, etc. In geography, for example, he says, there is in some classes only a single map available, and many lessons are learned without even a book.

The welfare of a school, he says, depends on good supervisors, teachers, and pupils, well chosen books, good equipment, good methods of teaching, proper discipline, and a proper distribution of time.

Greek, Latin, and religion he finds so badly taught that the results are barren. After so many hours have been given to these subjects through inefficient methods there remains, he says, but little time for what might be necessary and useful for the *nicht-studierenden*, those who did not aspire to be scholars. In the *sexta* numbers are as yet unthought of; in *quinta*, two hours only per week are given to it, and one hour also to geography. In the remainder of the time, 23 hours in all, Latin is taught and the catechism

is recited. In *quarta* one hour is given to geography and one to history; the other hours are spent on Latin and catechism. In *tertia* there is the same programme. Mathesis begins early in the *secunda*, and little is accomplished. The beginnings in mathematics are as bad as in geography and history. Few hours are spent on writing, and the time that is so spent is usually without profit. Throughout all the classes little or no time is given to composition. The door is shut on the useful and necessary for the *nicht-studierenden*, and they suffer in being taught useless things, or in being taught the best by the worst methods.

Herder laments that so much time is given to Latin in the lower classes when Latin will never be used in their lives. In *quinta* and *sexta* two hours per week are given to reciting the Latin vocabulary (an unholy practice which has long been banished by all sensible schools), and if a pupil remains in each of these classes two years he will have recited Latin vocabulary for 376 hours to be a shoemaker or a carpenter; then during these four years Langen's "Colloquia" are explained for 792 hours, and in addition 792 hours are given to the Latin grammar, and in *quarta* 94 hours are spent on forging Latin forms (*lateinische Formeln geschmiedet*). During these four years in two of the lowest classes 2054 hours are spent in learning Latin without the pupils' having gone farther than Langen's "Colloquia,"

and still less without being able to apply these scraps to his future handiwork. Let him who can show how 2054 hours spent on nothing but Langen's "Colloquia" and vocabularies can possibly help the laborer who toils. And then as a result of all this effort, says Herder, the pupil who is even in the *prima* is in no position to produce an errorless exercise. It is inevitable that both teachers and pupils who thus make slaves of themselves in a short time become musty and mouldy.

Since on the average fifty pupils are to be found in each of the lower classes, and in the *sexta* the number goes up to one hundred of whom few ever get to the *secunda* or *prima*, the lower classes ought to be regarded in the same light as the city and country schools in which citizens, merchants, laborers, school-teachers, artists, in short, the largest and most necessary part of society, are to be educated. Herder points out the necessity of this class having a practical education since society will suffer from their ignorance and lack of skill or profit from their knowledge and its application.

It follows from all this, he says, that the school must be organized so that in the lower classes up to the *tertia* the school should be a *Realschule* of the useful arts and sciences, and thereafter it should consider the other classes who will not be obliged to get their living through the trades and industries. This idea on the organization

of the gymnasium is not new according to Herder as it was proposed by the lamented Gessner for his own gymnasium, and all good institutions in other lands are attempting the same thing.

The ideal of education for the solution of life's problems, it should also be said, led Herder to advocate the founding of an industrial school for those who would find it necessary to make their living through the manual arts. Unfortunately his plan, of which we know almost nothing in detail, could not be carried out until after his death.

While the *Schulreden* delivered at Weimar are far less emotional and better balanced than the early writings in the "Journal meiner Reise," it is easy to see that the idealism of the young Herder is not forgotten. The writings at Weimar, while recognizing the fact that the process must be psychological, does not lay emphasis in an explicit way on the mental traits that preponderate at various stages, yet the general point of view is the same. In the later writings Herder emphasizes as he does in his early ones the great necessity for sense experience, beginning the school work with what the child knows and his immediate environment, and then proceeding to the more abstract and remote, the need of instruction in the mother tongue, the value of modern languages, the failure of most of the instruction in Latin, the need of emphasizing Greek, psychological methods, and the need of both practical and ideal results in education. The difference in

theory between the young and the old Herder is essentially unimportant.

It is impossible to tell how successful Herder was in his proposed reforms, but we do know that he was strenuously opposed by the consistory in season and out of season. In his instructions to teachers and collaborators in 1788 we do notice, however, that the curriculum must have changed somewhat in accordance with his ideas. These instructions referred specifically to subjects taught in the various classes and the methods that ought to be used. While these instructions cannot serve in all probability as an accurate guide to the practice in the Weimar gymnasium they do show that in the lower classes there was being laid a good foundation in the realistic studies such as arithmetic, geometry, history, geography, and science, and that the emphasis on the humanistic studies fell in the upper classes. The Weimar gymnasium had become to a large extent a combination of both the humanistic and realistic tendencies.

To a man who was deeply interested in the welfare of the people as a whole, who believed that the school was a workshop of the Holy Spirit and children the greatest wealth of a nation, it was inevitable that Herder should not be vitally interested in the training of teachers. He was concerned most of all with the training of the country schoolmasters. Before Herder began his reforms, however, it should be said that some effort toward the training of teachers had already

been made in Weimar. The duchess, Anna Amelia, in 1771 had founded a free school and had appointed an excellent elementary teacher who was to instruct discharged soldiers and the like on the right methods of teaching in the schools. (49, p. 16.) They were to be instructed one hour per week in the catechism and the way it should be taught, and possibly given some practice in teaching. But such primitive means proved unsatisfactory. Herder proposed a seminary for teachers, which was opened March 31, 1788.

In 1787 Herder reported that there were from 50 to 80 pupils to every teacher in the Weimar gymnasium. He pointed out how impossible it was under such conditions to do good work. If the gymnasium is to be an institution like those in other lands it must have more teachers, salaried teachers, according to the number of pupils so that greater demands may be laid upon them. With some degree of approval he calls attention to the fact that the Basedow Institute has one half as many teachers as pupils. (27, vol. 30, p. 452.)

In advocating this seminary, Herder contended that it should not furnish an unnecessary kind of enlightenment which would satisfy neither the needs of the state nor contribute to the happiness in private life. Still less should it seek to furnish young people with a comfortable support. Furthermore its purpose should be apart from all ostentation and display. The seminary should

offer a suitable opportunity for young people to learn of their future calling through instruction and practice, for the best skill of school teachers is gained only through methods and practice.

The plan presented provided that all who applied for admission to the seminary were to be recommended by their previous teachers. The general superintendent as the director of the seminary must see that they were examined conscientiously and impartially. In this way those who were not fit would save many fruitless years. No students under fourteen years of age were to be accepted.

The students of the seminary were to be divided into two different classes. The first class would merely learn and receive instruction; the second would learn likewise but would also get practice in teaching others. The number of the former would not be determined; the number of the second would be limited by the conditions of the country, the opportunities of the chief city, and by the funds on hand, which at this time, Herder says, could provide for only five.

The instruction of all the students of the seminary according to Herder should include (27, vol. 30, p. 463):—

- (1) The method of correct reading and correct reading aloud, in which so many teachers often fail.

- (2) A correct orthography and calligraphy for

Latin as well as German. Special consideration is to be given foreign words.

(3) Independent composition in writing letters and in the telling of events so that the schoolmaster may learn to express himself orally.

(4) Common and necessary knowledge so far as it is necessary for the education of common man. The beginnings of geography and natural history, the first conceptions of natural philosophy, of civil history, etc., are not to be neglected. Such knowledge will enable the schoolmaster to destroy many prejudices and superstitions among the common people.

The inspector is to look out particularly for good methods of instruction in religion and biblical history so that both of them may be presented to the country folk pure and clean and in such a way that they may be comprehensible and practical.

If the students of the gymnasium have been sufficiently practiced in these sciences, the five most worthy pupils are given practical instruction in actual teaching either in the first gymnasium, in the garrison school, or the school for girls, according to the best opportunity. In the two lowest classes of the gymnasium, Herder remarks, two students have heretofore helped in the teaching. Such a method insures a considerable saving to the city. Thus Herder had an idea of co-operation between the various educational institutions.

The lower class in the seminary is to receive no financial assistance; it is enough that they

receive their instruction and education free for their future calling. The first five students will receive a stipendium annually for their subsistence, not because they are learning but because they are teaching and are useful to the state.

The records available do not indicate whether all these ideas of Herder relative to the teachers' seminary were carried out or not, but it is only fair to assume that they were. One cannot help but notice a striking similarity to common practices in modern American cities.

There are very few references in Herder's writings to the education of women (37, pp. 129, 130), but those that are found show that he deplored the same kind of education for women as for men. Looking at education as being something of primary social importance he realized that woman occupied a unique position in society, and that consequently a man's training was inadequate. He was quite unsympathetic with the idea of a woman being a scholar. While he believed that woman should participate in the cultural life of the people, that her mind should be receptive to purely human interests, that the treasures of the national literature should be opened to her; yet, he had the conviction that her highest calling was that of solving the plain but necessary problems of the home and family life. Scholarly interests were to be secondary to home duties. His wife was a model probably of what was desired. She took a prom-

inent part in his literary plans and efforts without forgetting her household duties. Herder's broad and tolerant attitude toward women won their respect and sympathy wherever he went. He never seemed to have seriously considered the education of girls in his work.

As a sympathizer with the reformation movement, Herder naturally believed in the state control of schools. (27, vol. 30, pp. 183-189.) After the schools were separated from the cloisters, he observes they began to be regarded as public possessions. This was the reason why at the time of the reformation the princes put the control of the schools into the hands of the cities. Back of this was the conviction that the sons of citizens, the youth of the parish, were to be cultivated to be moral and useful. Schools must be regarded as public rather than private institutions. Every teacher is a public man, a servant of the state. To him is given the task of moulding and cultivating posterity; the richest treasures of past generations, yes, of humanity itself, are in his hands. When fresh wax is pressed and moulded by many hands, it always retains its first impressions; the first odor accompanying a new vessel will cling to it for a long time or forever. To the teachers Herder said, "Work not for the present alone but also and mostly for the future; not for the world as it is but also as it is to be; not for our city or country alone, but for the welfare of youth in all lands that have been given into

your keeping. Comfort, strengthen, and encourage yourself with the thought that your arduous profession is no private work but a universal, public, eternal work, a work which concerns the city, country, posterity, where seed continues to sprout with developing reason, continues to grow with increasing knowledge and humanity, yes, which wins new strength in every new field, and bears new blossoms and fruits. Keep yourself removed in all your work from private opinions and from all private anxieties. You are destined to pass away but the school will remain." (27, vol. 30, pp. 186, 187.)

It would be too much to say that Herder ever had a comprehensive and unified plan of school organization, although he suggested much in a general way. These theories might have been formulated as follows:—

(1) Education concerns the common good. Its purpose is to make happy, useful, and moral citizens. Therefore schools should be public institutions under the authority of the state.

(2) Pupils may be divided into two classes, those who aspire to be scholars and those who do not, the latter class being destined to earn its living through the practical trades and industries. The schools must train both classes. In the case of the gymnasium the first few years, up to the *tertia*, should lay the foundations for practical life by giving instruction in the mother tongue, reading, writing, arithmetic, science, etc. Those

who expect to be scholars will continue to pursue more abstract and philosophical subjects.

(3) The studies must be planned for each year so as to correspond to the natural interests and development of the pupils.

(4) Schools should be provided with the proper books, maps, and other equipment.

(5) Teachers must not have too many pupils; teachers should be better paid, and have proper training.

(6) Woman should be educated for the responsibilities of the home. She should not be a scholar but ought to participate in the resources of civilization.

It is exceedingly difficult to trace Herder's influence on school organization. As a powerful leader of the new humanistic movement, it seems safe to assume that he was one of the founders of the new humanistic gymnasium in Germany. Beyond that it is difficult to say. Whether he had any further influence or not, it is interesting to know that he made many plans, not a few of which were carried out, to make his educational philosophy practical. His theories and his work as an administrator were founded on the ideas that the school must fit every individual to do that in life which he is best fitted for. This would necessitate an enriched curriculum, as broad as human interests, psychological methods, objective teaching, good apparatus, and trained teachers. Again we find Herder's face turned toward the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER XIX

WHAT WAS HERDER'S CONTRIBUTION TO PEDAGOGY?

Neglected by Writers on the History of Education—Did not Contribute Great Educational Classic—Successful Teacher and School Administrator—Author of School Text-books—Debt to Rousseau—Hamann, Kant, and Gessner—Leader of New Humanism—First to Grasp its Ideal as a Whole—His Philosophy of Culture—One of the Fathers of Modern Humanistic Gymnasium—Influence on Study of Greek, Mother Tongue—Influence on Other Educators—In Advocating Training and Self-activity Anticipated Modern Practice—Matthias on Herder's Influence as an Educator in Germany—Contributed Ideals rather than Methods.

American and English writers on education have failed utterly to appreciate that Herder has a significant place in the history of education. The best books on this subject either leave him out altogether or give a passing reference to his being associated with Goethe and Schiller at Weimar in the classic epoch of German literature. Most of them entirely neglect the movement of New Humanism, or, if it is considered, Herder's name is barely mentioned in this connection, or is omitted entirely. No book on the history of education devotes even a single line to show that he was a real educator, either theoretically or practically. Even the German works on the history of education give him recognition only grudgingly, and it is only fair to say that the vast majority of them have

failed to appreciate in a large measure his contribution to the cultural development of the German people.

Although it can easily be shown that Herder has a legitimate place in the history of education, even a place of distinction, it must be admitted that Herder was not great in the sense in which the world usually considers the great educational reformers. Unlike Rousseau, he did not electrify his age and liberate influences which were to modify profoundly the theories and practices of education throughout the world. He contributed no educational classic like "*Leonard and Gertrude*" or "*Emile*." His collection of speeches on pedagogy, delivered at Weimar, speeches which insure for him a permanent position in the history of education, were not published until after his death. None of these were expected to or did influence a large public. They were written solely in response to his official duties. He did not hope or plan to lead a pedagogical movement, to have a universal influence on his contemporaries. His pedagogy was unsystematic and often vague and contradictory. What then, it might be asked, entitles Herder to a place among the educators of the past?

He is worthy of notice first of all because he was an unusual teacher and a practical educator. As a class-room teacher he was a marked success, as many of his pupils testify. At the boarding school at Königsberg and the cathedral school at Riga he

proved to be a teacher of unusual merit. At Weimar, for twenty-seven years, he was general superintendent of all the schools of the duchy, and from 1789 to the time of his death, he was the ephorus, or principal, of the gymnasium. When Herder began his work at Weimar the conditions were not the most favorable. The duke was indifferent, Goethe, who was high in his councils, was absorbed in his own affairs and the doings of the court, and it was quite the fashion then, as Herder said, to scoff at anything pertaining to moral culture. Weimar seemed to be satisfied with mere outer display and manners, such as riding, fencing, etc., rather than with the development of general culture. Although vigorously opposed in his plans of reform by the consistory, Herder slowly brought about changes that were most beneficial. He took means to increase the pay of the country school teachers, established a seminary for the training of teachers, wrote text-books (an A, B, C Book and a Catechism for the *Volkschulen*), set up new educational standards, reorganized the studies of the gymnasium, taught sometimes himself, wrote out with his own hand instructions for the teachers of the various classes, and infused new life into a decadent school system. Under Herder's guidance the gymnasium at Weimar soon attained an excellence which, with the exception of the Fürstenschulen of Pforte, Meissen, and Grimma, was unsurpassed by any other gymnasium in upper Germany. (49, p. 14.) As evidence of this excel-

lence Morres refers to the case of one Schubert who entered the gymnasium at Weimar as a member of the first class. At Greiz, where he had formerly attended the gymnasium, he was counted among the best pupils, but at Weimar he was among the poorest although there were sixty pupils in his class. He found that he was unable to answer questions to which the other pupils responded readily. Schubert tells of the diligence with which he pursued his studies at Weimar and his admiration and love for Herder. He said that a man lived at Weimar whom he would follow barefooted in heat and cold, hungry and thirsty, even into Asia to rejoice and live on his glances and words—this man was Herder.

While these practical efforts of Herder at Weimar had local significance, many of his biographers and critics have refused to believe that they had any other value. There seems to be little evidence to show that the schools of Weimar were copied directly by any other city or principality, still it does not seem to be fair to assume that the progress in the schools of Weimar did not spread. Weimar in the latter half of the eighteenth century was a literary center famous throughout Europe. It was visited by distinguished men throughout Germany. Herder himself was well known throughout Germany as a scholar, critic, and court preacher. Is it not fair to assume that some of these visitors were impressed by Weimar's pro-

gressive schools? Even if there are no records showing a direct influence of the educational activity of Weimar is it not probably true that it did have an indirect influence? Burkner (9, p. 190) would have us believe that Herder's personal influence pedagogically extended beyond the confines of Weimar and was very great. He says that Herder's reputation as a pedagogue was such that his advice concerning school reforms was asked on all sides, even by Catholic countries.

Herder's theories of education were not startling in their originality, neither were they slavishly imitative. He was essentially a child of the age in which he lived, and was more or less influenced by the men he came in contact with and by the intellectual movements of his time. While his educational philosophy was drawn from many sources it bore the stamp of his own personality. Among the men who influenced him most through personal contact were Hamann and Kant. Hamann led him to rebel against the narrowness of rationalism and opened up fields of literary appreciation, and Kant showed that physiography played an important part in the determination of man's destiny. But it was Rousseau who probably influenced his pedagogy most. As a student at Königsberg, he was much inspired by the reading of his "Emile." Some parts of his "Journal meiner Reise" are almost paraphrases of parts of the "Emile," and even his later pedagogical writings, the *Schulreden*, show unmistakable evidences of Rousseau's

thought. Although warm in his admiration for Rousseau he did not follow his lead blindly. Rousseau looked upon man in society as essentially a degenerate being. The realization of his full humanity, he thought, was possible only through a negative kind of process, allowing the child the free play of his individuality, his primitive instincts. This could be accomplished only by allowing him to develop naturally apart from the rest of society. Herder, while keeping before him as an educational ideal the harmonious and symmetrical development of the natural possibilities of the individual, did not entertain for a moment Rousseau's maudlin sentiments about the natural man. He saw at once that man was destined for society, and that education was fundamentally a positive and socializing process. Education began at the mother's knee. Language, customs, and morals were begun at home. Making a pointed thrust at Rousseau's poetic idea of the child developing naturally in isolation from the rest of society, Herder says: "Ulcers, tumors, and boils can truly develop from the normal skin; but not the sciences and arts." (27, vol. 30, p 86.) Herder quickly realized that a child left alone on a desert island, even if he had the greatest inborn genius, and could survive, would be nothing but a miserable animal. Inborn talents, he believed, could be brought out only through the individual's receiving instruction and coming in contact with others. Rousseau's ideals relative to the value of sense

training, the individuality of the pupil, the importance of the natural sciences and the self-activity of the learner, Herder incorporated into his educational philosophy with various changes in regard to their application.

Although Herder was somewhat familiar with the writings of Comenius, there is nothing to show that he had any exact knowledge of his educational theories or valued them pedagogically. (55, p. 97.)

Herder had much that was common with Pestalozzi, but it cannot be shown that Pestalozzi had any significant influence on Herder's educational theories. Such an influence was quite improbable since Pestalozzi as a pedagog was not widely known until after Herder's time. (55, p. 97.) "How Gertrude Teaches Her Children" did not appear until 1801, two years before Herder's death. Many of the similarities in their educational doctrine, such as the aim of education, use of sense material in teaching, and the simplification of subject-matter to correspond to the child's development, can be explained through the common influence of Rousseau. Baumgartner (3, p. 669) thinks that there is no evidence of Pestalozzi's direct influence on Herder.

Herder was inclined strongly toward realism and utilitarianism, but it would be difficult to trace any of these ideas directly to Basedow and the philanthropinists. Even while at Riga, Herder, as we have noticed, was strongly realistic in his

sympathies. But Basedow could not have been responsible for this attitude. Basedow was not widely known until the publication of his "Vorstellung an Menschenfreunde" (1768) and "Methodenbuch" (1770). Herder's Reise journal (1769), which was saturated with realism, appeared at about the same time. Since at this time Herder had never met Basedow and did not make any reference to him in his sketch of the ideal school, it is only reasonable to assume that we must explain his enthusiasm for realism in some other way, probably through his study of Rousseau. Although Basedow was a follower of Rousseau, Herder missed in him the naturalism of Rousseau. In later life Herder's antipathy for philanthropinism grew. Basedow's institution at Dessau reminded him, he says, of a stable of human geese. (55, pp. 96, 97.)

Among the men of distinction who directly influenced Herder was Johann Matthias Gessner (1691-1761), the first Konrektor of the Weimar gymnasium, and the pioneer of New Humanism in Germany. To him Herder was greatly indebted for his ideas on the reorganization of the Weimar gymnasium. He would have it make for a culture which was humanistic but not Latin. To Gessner Herder was indebted for the idea of the division of the gymnasium into two parts. Up to the *tertia* he would have a *Realschule* for the useful arts and sciences; from there on the classes were to be of the pure gymnasium type for future

scholars. It must not be thought, however, that Gessner's views were taken over entirely. They were considerably modified, and seasoned throughout with more reality. In regard to the instruction in Greek, Herder carried out what Gessner had striven for but in vain. (3, pp. 671, 672.) Gessner was an earnest advocate of the mother tongue and strongly recommended that in the teaching of languages they should not be taught from rules and grammar but through hearing them and through reading. These were, of course, fundamental principles in Herder's pedagogy. Gessner's enthusiasm for the New Humanism was an inspiration to Herder. He was familiar with Gessner's writings and referred to him with appreciation in both the *Reise* journal and his later pedagogical productions. By way of summarizing Gessner's influence on Herder let me quote from Kleespies, who says that "without doubt Herder stands on Gessner's shoulders," but he adds, "the scope of his vision is much more extensive and comprehensive." (40, p. 31.)

Herder's theories on the methods of teaching do not introduce any new principles into modern education, and it would probably be safe to say that practically all of them were current in some form or other among writers on education or practical schoolmen before or during the life of Herder. As we have attempted to show, it is rather difficult to prove that Herder was influenced by some of the men whose ideas were similar to his own, and it is

quite possible and probable that in many ways he was quite original. His pedagogical principles seem to have been founded on Rousseau, although he worked out and applied Rousseau's ideas in his own way. Certainly much of his pedagogical writing is unusual in its expression and shows rare insight into childhood and the problems with which education has to deal. Many of his ideas are very close to the modern theory and practice of education, as, for example, his *Schulreden* on the teaching of history and geography. His ideas on the teaching of geography were inspired largely by Rousseau, but I believe no previous writer had seen so clearly the importance of history in the school curriculum, especially with reference to the inculcating of moral values, and the importance of the relation of geography to history. It would be impossible, however, to show that school practice outside of Weimar was directly modified because of these views. His ideas on *Übung*, self-activity, were especially unusual too, but there seems to be little evidence to show that Herder had any direct influence on the methods of teaching in Germany as a whole. His methods were not universalized.

Herder's distinctive place in the history of education is due to his eminence in the movement known as New Humanism. When Herder appeared on the scene as a student and teacher, a new spirit was in the air, and there were many widely diverging views afloat concerning the aim of education. There was a feeling that the "real

man" had not found himself, that he was more or less oppressed by the conventionalities of society, and had become a hugely distorted human being. Rousseau was the arch rebel who led this crusade for the unrestricted and free development of the human being. He found his ideal in primitive man. Let us note briefly the other points of view. The old humanism found its finest expression of humanity in Cicero, and therefore strongly advocated the study of the Latin classics. The pupil should be as nearly like Cicero as possible. Rationalism conceived happiness to be the end of man and reason the only way to attain it. Pietism set as its ideal true holiness and Christian wisdom. The philanthropinists regarded the truly educated man as one who could grapple successfully with the practical problems of life. Herder, following in the wake of Gessner, Ernesti, and Heyne, found the perfect type of man in ancient Greece. This was a new ideal. Ziegler says that Herder was the first to develop this new ideal of culture in all its fullness and clearness. (77, pp. 284, 285.) Herder became its high priest. In Greece was to be found the most splendid examples of free manhood. In his opinion the greatest prize that any man might hope to attain was that, in spite of his German birth, he might have the spirit of the Greeks, for it was the spirit of the Greeks which could set men free. But his ideal was not as one-sided as might seem. To be a "*ganz gesunder Mensch fürs Leben*," to have full humanity, meant the

development of all the human possibilities of an individual, wisdom, reason, utility, beauty, etc. He reacted sharply, however, to the doctrine of the rationalists on the pronounced belief as to the value of feeling; to him all human faculties, especially feeling, should be exercised. Utility was of undoubted importance, but man should not live for that alone but rather for the good and beautiful. Speaking in a new tongue, he said that instead of fitting man for a business or profession merely, education should give life a content which in itself should be better and more beautiful. "Not in the prose, but in the poetry, not in work but in play, in art lay the highest worth; work, so one feels with the Greek Aristotle, is for the sake of leisure, the fulfillment of leisure through the free play of one's powers, that is the best and highest content in life." (3, p. 668.)

While a sturdy champion of the study of Greek, Herder would not be a blind imitator like the humanists. He would not have the boy become a mere copy of Homer. He would have the Germans remain Germans still, only he would have them learn from the Greeks the secret of the development of their power so that they might grow into the biggest Germans possible. Education to him did not mean the ability to reproduce with grammatical accuracy a dead language. A splendid ideal of German nationality surges through all his writings. To the youth he would speak in words something like these: Be Germans, use

your mother tongue with fluency, study your native authors, abandon all imitation of foreigners. Let the study of the Greeks teach you to be more truly Germans, better and bigger Germans. Herder's voice was the bugle call inspiring the Germans to resist the blind and formal imitation of the French and the Romans. He taught them that culture was not like a coat which could be put on and taken off at will, but an elemental expression of the life of the people. Real German culture must not and could not be developed from without. The Germans themselves must develop their own latent genius.

Herder's efforts were not fruitless in encouraging a true Germanic culture nor were they without their effect on the schools. It was due in a large part to his enthusiasm that Greek finally assumed a stable and honorable place in the curricula of the German gymnasia. (3, p. 671.) His conception of the gymnasium as an institution which should combine both the practical and ideal has now become an actuality in the German gymnasium, and Baumgartner says that it is universally conceded that Herder is one of the fathers of the modern new humanistic gymnasium. (3, p. 671.) I believe that Herder has been given little or no credit for the emphasis on the study of the mother tongue. While it is probably impossible to show that he had any direct influence in this way through his pedagogical activity, it is only reasonable to conclude that a man who wrote so much and so

well in his mother tongue, who had such a profound appreciation for German literature, and fought for the supremacy of the German tongue in Germany at every point should have aided materially in this great movement.

In considering Herder's contribution to education we should not forget also that he influenced directly or indirectly men like Fichte, Schleiermacher, Jean Paul Richter, W. von Humboldt, and others. In weighing Herder's influence we must always consider the influence of New Humanism as a part of his own, since he was one of the colossal figures in this important movement. For example it is doubtful whether Herder ever had any direct influence on Herbart or ever knew him personally (3, p. 670), but while a student at Jena Herbart was influenced by the New Humanism, and we find in his subsequent pedagogical philosophy a good deal of emphasis on morality as the fundamental aim in education and the value of the study of Greek history and literature. All these principles were essential features of Herder's pedagogy. Although it is exceedingly difficult to adequately measure Herder's influence on the theory and practice of education, he must be regarded as one of the most advanced practical schoolmen of his day. He turned his back resolutely on the pedantic ideas of the usual schoolmaster of his age. Education meant something besides stuffing the mind with dry facts and uninteresting formulas. The school was for life, and it must fail completely in its

purpose unless it helped to satisfy real human needs.

In his emphasis on training and self-activity as being essential in all education he towered above the men of his time and foreshadowed an important tendency in modern education.

Herder's message to the schools of his day was as fitting for our modern age as it was in the eighteenth century. The enthusiasm and glory of the New Humanism were forgotten or had lapsed into formalism during the dominance of the Bismarckian régime. In 1890, in the person of the reigning emperor, we seem to hear Herder speaking again. Before a conference of teachers he complained of the traditional method of teaching and the school's lack of sympathy with life. "It was not a national education," he said, "nor was it adapted to the requirements of modern times. It was bound up with classical antiquity, without furthering, however, true humanistic culture. It was a merely linguistic and grammatical training. The goal of its efforts and the standard of its achievements were the Latin essay in the Leaving Examination." (57, pp. 209, 210.)

The relationship of Herder to modern education has been well stated by Matthias (47, p. 147), who says: "Among the great men of our age of classical poetry, as the most noteworthy pathfinder of newer aims and newer ideals, stands Herder, to whom we are indebted, and who will continue to grow in appreciation the more his spirit, under which

the school reforms of 1890 and 1900 have been carried out, becomes the common possession of the cultured in Germany."

Matthias has suggested here the *vital contribution of Herder to pedagogy*. He had little direct influence on methods of teaching but he held before the German people high ideals of German culture and national life; he taught them to avoid copying the culture of other peoples, to respect their past, to study their own language, to look to the Greeks for models of excellence, but to develop above everything else their latent genius. These ideals were applied by educators who followed Herder.

It can be only a source of regret that Herder did not feel called upon to publish a carefully prepared volume on his ideas in education. As it was the reading public outside of Weimar were able to get a glimpse of his educational philosophy only through his more general works on literature and philosophy. Had the material embodied in his *Schulreden*—so rich in its idealism and suggestiveness—been systematically prepared and published, it is only logical to conclude that he might have had a good deal of the credit which was claimed by his successors, and a greater influence which he so honestly merited. This was particularly true of his theories on the teaching of geography and history where his pedagogical insight was perhaps most original and stable. Herder's claim to immortality as an educator, however, does not rest alone on his direct contribution to education, although that

might be adequate. Herder was a teacher and educator in a much broader sense of the word, and in this sphere he probably meant more to the intellectual development of the German people than highly advertised men like Basedow. Few, if any, have contributed more to the cultural life of the German people. Let us now turn to this greater contribution to the history of education.

CHAPTER XX

HERDER'S INFLUENCE ON GERMAN LITERATURE

Gottsched, Leading Man of Letters at Herder's Birth—Wrote in German but Copied French—Worshiped Rules—Curried Favor of the Court—At Herder's Death German Literature Independent and Original—Contributions of Klopstock, Lessing, and Winckelmann—Emancipatory Movement of Eighteenth Century—Herder Spokesman of New Age—Literature, Expression of Life of the People—New Standards of Criticism—Sympathetic Insight into World Literature—Herder not Creative Poet or Writer—Literary Critic—Inspirer of Men, Goethe, Schiller, etc.—First to Appreciate Volkslieder—Laid Foundations of Comparative Literature—Translator—Gave Impulse to Study of Origin of Language and Philology—Aroused Interest in German Art—Contribution to Aesthetics—Summary.

At the time of Herder's birth (1744), Gottsched was the leading man of letters in Germany. While he was moved without doubt by a patriotic feeling to elevate German literature, he could conceive of only one method which would be successful, namely, to copy the French literature as far as possible. At this time France was in the midst of her greatest literary activity, and her brilliant writers, under the patronage of Louis XIV., naturally appealed to Gottsched's imagination and ambition. He would make out of Germany another France and out of Leipzig another Paris. He had in mind what he believed to be a logical way of bringing this about. As a student he had observed that French literature was subject to fixed rules. If the German writers would

follow these rigid principles, he believed that it would be possible to transfer the attributes of the French genius to the German language and style. The adoption of such a policy would make the literature of Germany blossom forth among the greatest in the world. It was largely through his influence that the German stage was remodeled on French lines and the literature of France was so assiduously copied. In sympathy with the practices of the French writers, he also undertook to curry favor with the court circles. So undisguised were these attempts that they aroused much adverse criticism. Still the whole tendency of the time was to disregard the mother tongue. It was looked upon as being very inferior, and Latin and French were invariably used by scholars. Even the unusually gifted Prussian ruler, Frederick the Great, would not tolerate it in his court, but gathered around him some of the most distinguished of the French men of letters.

With the advent of the nineteenth century, the end of Herder's life (1803), all this had changed. Imitation and blind servility had given way to originality and independence, mere outer form to meaningful content, and the blind copying of a foreign literature to the free expression of the life and soul of a great people. Germany had a literature of which it might well be proud. In this far-reaching revolution, Herder played a unique part. (11, p. 510.) A brief historical sketch will make this clear.

Gottsched's knowledge of the German literature of the past was greater than that of any of his contemporaries. He wrote a German grammar, a rhetoric, a small dictionary, and many essays on literary history. As a German professor he was even brave enough to write German poems. As a creative poet, however, he was a failure. His dramas were a miserable patchwork of borrowed ideas. As German literature passed from a stage of imitation to originality, as it became better able to dispense with the leading-strings of the French, Gottsched's influence gradually waned, and after 1740 his standing and power as a man of letters declined.

A more truly Germanic spirit was voiced in the writings of those who followed immediately after Gottsched. In Klopstock, for example, we find that German literature is led from the narrow circle of private emotions and ideals in to the broad light of universal sympathy and cosmopolitanism. Francke (15, p. 234) calls Klopstock "the first great freeman since the days of Luther." His call was not merely to the nation but to all mankind; it was an appeal to exalted individualism and joyous idealism, both of which were to be dominant tones in the best in German literature. Schiller referred to him above all others as the musical poet. But his beginning, although most promising, was rather disappointing. Goethe said that Klopstock was no epic and dramatic poet, and, in general, no poet at all. (11, p. 396.) His

emotions were often so effusive that, as Lessing suggested, his readers failed to get any emotions whatever. As he grew older, he withdrew more and more from the actual world and insisted on describing those things that were superhuman and indescribable, so that eventually he could be understood only by those who were familiar with the mysteries and peculiarities of his artificial language. His spirituality was overstrained, but it was largely because it was so exaggerated that he was able to contribute much by furthering the spirit of independence, by kindling larger emotions, and inspiring nobler purposes.

But the great destroyer of Gottschedianism and one of the most powerful liberators of German literature from French influence was Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1721-1781). He regarded Gottsched's influence on the German stage as deplorable. He even regretted that Gottsched had ever meddled with these matters, for his intended improvements, he said, were trifling or for the worst. Lessing complained that Gottsched, without considering the temper of the German people had tried to foist upon them a Frenchified drama. This was unfortunate, Lessing thought, because there was really much more in Shakespeare's works that would appeal to the German people than was to be found in Corneille and Racine. Probably Lessing did Gottsched a personal injustice to deny him any credit for the purification and

elevation of the German stage, but Lessing's enthusiasm for the liberation of Germany from the fetters of a courtly etiquette and literary and intellectual thralldom led to the annihilation of all who stood in the way. Gottsched fell, and with him what was known as the pseudoclassicism, which had kept the genuine classics out of sight. (15, pp. 268-270.)

In company with Winckelmann, Lessing discovered the true classic antiquity of the Greeks. He introduced his readers into the real workshops of the ancient poets and artists and endeavored to show how they had produced their greatest masterpieces. German literature, he maintained, could never become great until it gave up slavish imitation. It would become distinctive as soon as it caught the spirit of the ancient classics. He was the first German to demonstrate that it was possible to write literature, good literature, without copying the French models.

In spite of some narrowness because of his enthusiasm and fighting propensities, Lessing was broad and catholic in his sympathies. Although a follower of Wolffian philosophy, and perhaps its most distinguished representative in literature, he did not carry it nearly so far as some of his contemporaries, who were prone to deny the existence of everything which reason could not sanction. (15, p. 267.)

The fire which Lessing helped to kindle was destined to break forth in flames. His work

was a part of the great emancipatory movement of the eighteenth century. In France it had resulted in a violent social and political revolution; but in Germany it broke forth in song in the classical period of German literature. The revolution in Germany, unlike that in France, was not to be fought out on the battlefield but in the retirement of the study. The ideas that became current after Lessing were violently individualistic. "Destruction of every barrier to individual growth; war against authority of whatever kind; the glorification of primitive, uncorrupted nature, of instinct, of passion, of genius; the vilification of the existing social order, of regularity, of learning, of conscious effort—these were the watchwords which inspired the generation succeeding that of Klopstock and Lessing." (15, p. 301.) Revolution was in the air. While this spirit would have been impossible except for the work of Lessing, yet he was far too conservative to have a very strong influence on the younger and more radical men of his time. It cannot be denied that the most powerful impulse of this movement came from France. The *Sturm und Drang* would probably never have existed or have assumed the importance that it did had it not been for Rousseau's "Heloise" and "Emile"; for Rousseau was the most powerful advocate of individualism of the eighteenth century. A new ideal of human perfection was presented, the lofty individualistic ideal of the free man rising to the fullness of his

free spiritual nature above the restrictions of his social, political, and moral environment. The lack of unity among the German states and the essentially intellectual character of the movement probably prevented it from becoming a real political revolution in Germany.

The honor of being the apostle and spokesman of this new age belongs to Johann Gottfried Herder. (15, pp. 318, 319.) During his life was completed the liberation of the spiritual life of the German people from the dictation of French culture and style. As a follower of Lessing* it was his duty to cultivate the fields which Lessing had largely cleared. Like the other *Sturm und Drang* enthusiasts, he was a follower of Rousseau, and remained faithful to his ideals practically all of his life. But in one point at least he differed from him. While concerned with natural free development of the human soul, he conceived the individual soul as a part of a larger and more complex organism, the soul of the people. Taking his point of departure from Lessing, but with much greater emphasis, he saw that the development of the free moral individual depended

* Hedge (22, p. 229) has made a splendid comparison of Lessing and Herder: "Lessing's influence was that of critical authority: He saw everything in the dry light of the understanding; his judgments were based on rule and measure. In Herder's æsthetics there mingled sentiment, the loving thought, the moral sympathy with which his catholic heart embraced the most diverse and even contradictory in literature,—the Oriental, the classic, the romantic, Greek, and mediæval song. His influence was due not so much to accredited judgment as it was to admiring advocacy and prophetic enthusiasm."

on the development of society. The perfect individual man would be impossible without a perfect society. Herder, while expressing the finest sentiments of individualism of his age, at the same time foreshadowed the strongest movement of the nineteenth century, the movement toward collectivism.

The individual man, according to Herder, had really accomplished nothing. All the fruits of human civilization, language, law, custom, religion, poetry, and art are the natural results of collective human life in response to instincts and physical environment. In the artists, poets, prophets, lawmakers, and other men of genius, Herder saw only the instruments for the expression of national thought and feeling. Such a philosophy dealt a death blow to the theory that poetry was the private property of a few refined and cultivated individuals. Poetry to him was the common gift of all mankind. Francke says that Herder "for the first time clearly and systematically considered all literature as the expression of living national forces, as the reflex of the whole of the national civilization."

This epoch-making idea was first expressed by Herder at the age of twenty-three in his "Fragmente über die neuere deutsche Literatur" (1767). It was his conception that among all mankind, in every nation and every tribe, there was the same law of change. All things grow, reach the zenith of their glory, and then decay. This

like that of the Egyptians and Arabs, a religion of the desert, but a religion of the sea and forest. Orpheus, Homer, Pindar, to be fully understood, ought to be read at sea. With what an absorption one listens to or tells stories on shipboard. How easily a sailor inclines to the fabulous. Himself an adventurer, in quest of strange worlds, how ready he is to imagine strange things. Have I not experienced this myself? With what a sense of wonder I went on board ship. With what curiosity and excitement one approaches the land. How one stares at the pilot with his wooden shoes and his large white hat. How one sees in him the whole French nation down to their king, Louis the Great. Is it strange that out of such a state of strained expectation and wonder tales like that of the Argonauts and poems like the *Odyssey* should have sprung?" (15, p. 322.)

Herder's sympathetic insight into literature as a result of this sort of critical point of view was so great that he had a profound appreciation of the literature of many lands. With unusual adaptability he was able to transport himself to the actual conditions under which literature was produced. Lessing used his rich resources of literature in quest of rules of criticism and style, but Herder studied literature for its own sake and with enthusiasm. "He sought to be a Hebrew with the Hebrews, an Arab with the Arabs, a Skald with the Skalds, a Bard with the

Bards." (68, vol. 1, p. 88.) He was an excellent pupil of Montesquieu and Winckelmann. Their love and appreciation for the past lived in him and shed their luster on a new epoch in literature.

As an original writer of literature, Herder does not have high rank. He was a clever verse maker but not a creative poet. (11, p. 517.) His prose, while abounding in many brilliant suggestions and fine feeling, is invariably fragmentary and lacking in coherence. His original writings possess little interest for the modern reader. They are valuable chiefly from an historic point of view. Herder's place in German literature depends not on the permanent literary value of what he wrote but on what he was able to get others to do and to appreciate.

As a literary critic and inspirer of other men Herder deserves most credit. He showed as nobody had done before the possibilities that the Germans had in developing a literature which should be genuinely Germanic, and through his influence on Goethe, Schiller, and Jean Paul Richter and others German literature came into its own. His love and sympathy for the past coupled with his direct influence on Jean Paul, the first of the romanticists, made him a forerunner of the romantic movement in literature.

Herder's translations must be regarded as one of the greatest achievements in German literature. His universal sympathy and versatility as a translator were probably best shown by his col-

lection of popular songs entitled "Stimmen der Völker in Liedern." These characteristic poems were drawn from the literature of all the nations. Herder seemed to have a remarkable appreciation for each poem, reproducing the feeling, meter, and style. He showed that by opening up the mind of the reader to the various influences of various races and peoples of the past it need not make for enslavement but for a broader vision, a more catholic sympathy, and a deeper spirit of independence. By such work Herder called the attention of the world, as had never been done before, to the value of the folk songs, and laid the foundations for the science of comparative literature. (15, p. 325.)

Joseph Reinke (62, p. 63), who has made a very careful study of Herder as a translator, lays emphasis on Herder's influence on subsequent translations and philology. His plan in translating was to enable the reader to see the foreign writer as he really was. The rules and laws of translation which he developed with such skill and definiteness have been applied ever since in good translations. Even August Wilhelm von Schlegel was proud to call himself Herder's pupil. Herder's influence on the investigations of the literature and history of the Middle Ages is hard to estimate. He inspired men like Graiter and Bock to collect the old German and North literary masterpieces and translate them. Among those who were influenced by Herder was that master of all

investigators of the German language, Wilhelm Grimm.

Herder's interesting work, "Über den Ursprung der Sprache" (1772), gave an impulse to the study of the origin of language and the science of comparative philology. His thesis was that language was not a divine communication but a natural development. While based on reflection rather than investigation, and although crude in its details, it is very suggestive, and much of it is in keeping with modern day thought. (73.)

Incidentally, Herder was also an art critic. In his "Kritische Wälder" (1769) and "Plastik" (1778) he reacts against the excesses into which the profound reverence for Greek art had led Winckelmann and Lessing. His idea of national idiosyncrasy, so characteristic of his literary ideas, came to the surface again here. Classic art, he maintained, could not be set up as an unchanging type for people of all time. Art like literature must be the product of the whole life of a people. He was eloquent in his plea for the separation of painting as a distinct art. Lessing had confounded painting with sculpture and had classified both as formative arts. Herder, on the other hand, looked upon sculpture as the art of the sense of touch, and painting as the art of the eye.

In his enthusiasm for a national art, Herder was one of the first to bring to light the excellent qualities of the Gothic art. His genuine apprecia-

tion for German art helped to arouse much interest in Albrecht Dürer. (73.)

The nature of Herder's view of the world made it inevitable that he should be plunged into the heart of the problems of æsthetics. The bigness of his soul encompassed the universe, and in the heart of The Eternal All he found everlasting growth, the inevitable and ultimate triumph of truth and complete harmony. The highest good, he also discovered to be always inseparable from the highest truth and beauty. (5, p. 8.) This mystical sense of the beauty, harmony, and goodness of the universe could not help but be an inspiration to a literature which had become dwarfed and impoverished by inferior motives. Herder tapped the living sources of inspiration.

Herder's contribution to the science of æsthetics was humble, but, considering the state of psychology and physiology at that time, his insight was unusual. He believed that an approach could be made to this subject only through the analysis of the concept of the beautiful. This concept he thought to be the work of various sense organs. The activities of these organs were to be transferred by the nerves to the soul itself. Herder's predecessors and many who came after him thought that only two senses, vision and hearing, were involved in the concept of the beautiful; but Herder, believing these to be inadequate, added a third, the sense of touch, which he asserted gave us an idea of form and

proportion. (According to Herder's meaning of the sense of touch it included what is now known as the kinæsthetic sensations.) He classified the fine arts into three divisions with reference to these three senses. The sense of touch is allied to sculpture; vision, to painting; and hearing to music.

In his analysis of these three sensations Herder's insight is most penetrating. His treatment of the sense of hearing was perhaps most remarkable. In this he seemed to have anticipated the discoveries of Helmholtz and Johannes Müller. Dr. Bloch, who has written a scholarly monograph on Herder's place in the history of æsthetics, says that Herder for the first time accurately defined the content of the philosophy of the beautiful, and that he proposed for the physiology of hearing an acceptable hypothesis for the theory of music. (5, p. 48.)

Let us summarize now rather briefly the place of Herder in German literature. When Herder appeared on the scene for the first time, German literature had not yet taken wing. German writers had little or no standing at court. They were largely dominated by French influences, and sought everywhere to curry favor with the nobility. Lessing had raised his voice eloquently and powerfully against all this, and had pointed to the classical literature for the principles which would promote a genuinely German literature. Herder, while deeply sympathizing with Lessing

in much that he thought and did, reacted sharply against the application of rules and principles. Literature to him must be the natural and spontaneous expression of the life of a people. He was the relentless foe of all pretense, artificiality, and imitation. While possessing little creative literary ability, he was a keen critic. Strongly influenced by Rousseau, he voiced a natural call to natural expression and individualism. At the same time he ushered in a new era of collectivism. By setting up the standard that Germany should develop its own genius naturally, and by his personal influence on Goethe, he was the inspirer of Germany's greatest age of literature. He was one of Germany's greatest translators, helped to lay the foundations of comparative literature, philology and literary criticism, and aesthetics.

As a schoolmaster and writer on education, Herder insisted that the school should be an expression of and service to society, that children should develop naturally and that they should use their mother tongue fluently; in a word that they should become true Germans. As a man of letters we find him again a schoolmaster but a schoolmaster of the German nation. Germany must not imitate; she must develop a literature which is an expression of her own natural thought and feeling. He set a standard of patriotism for Germany which influenced practically all the intellectual men of his age. His patriotism while

splendidly Germanic did not condescend to petty thoughts and feelings nor to the cheap patriotism of the sound of gun, the clash of swords, and the waving of flags. He was too genuinely a citizen of the world to think of "*Deutschland über alles, über alles in der Welt.*" Germany should not be moved by the idea of beating the world, but by the purpose of developing her own splendid resources. Rising above the limitations of a narrow provincialism, he showed the Germans how they might best develop their real humanity. Other men had rebelled against the aping of foreign culture, but it was Herder's particular mission not merely to destroy but to fulfill. He gave the German people a positive philosophy of culture and inspired them to work steadily for its attainment. He mapped out the road which German literature must and did take to become truly individual and have worth. Herder's voice was like that of one calling in the wilderness to turn about to behold the glory of a new and wonderful morn. He was the prophet of the new national literature.

CHAPTER XXI

HERDER'S CONTRIBUTION TO HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY, PSYCHOLOGY, AND RELIGION

Review of Philosophic Thought Previous to the Time of Herder—The Middle Ages—The Reaction—The Modern Age—Descartes—Spinoza—Leibnitz—Christian Wolff—Lessing—Herder—Applies Metaphysics of Leibnitz to Concrete Problems—Foe of Rationalism—Feeling rather than Reason to Interpret Life—Ideas on Evolution—His Philosophy of History—Brief Review—Anticipates Darwin—Did not Create a Philosophical System—Founder of Genetic Method—First to Apply this to Find Meaning of World as a Whole—Foreshadowed Romanticism—Modern Historical School—Idealism of Schelling and Hegel—Anticipated Trend in Modern Psychology—Unity of Mind—Geneticism—Behaviorism—Social and Physiological Psychology—Genetic Method Applied to Religion—Founder of Historical and Comparative Study of Religion—Foreshadowed Modern Interpretation of Scriptures.

It was largely through Herder's historical perspective that he was enabled to grasp the meaning and the possibilities of literature. In a similar manner he sought to find meaning in every form of the world round about him. This *Weltanschauung* was given perhaps its finest expression in his greatest work, "Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte," the breadth and suggestiveness of which entitle him to a place among the thinkers of the modern age. To understand his place in the progress of philosophical thought, let us review the work of some of those to whom he was most indebted.

Going back in our brief historical review to the

Middle Ages we find that its greatest task was that of disciplining the various races that had become intermingled after the downfall of Roman authority. It proceeded to do this by the use of repressive authority, often crude, harsh, and arbitrary. The will and the freedom of the individual had become repressed by the external restraints of institutions which had originally been founded for the welfare of the individual. As a result of the natural reaction to the great problems of assimilation, thought, feeling, and action had tended to become formalized. Finally the reaction came. The watchwords of the new age, the modern age, were freedom and individualism. This revolution with its emphasis on individualism proceeded first along the more purely theoretical lines.

Descartes (1596-1650) is usually regarded as the first of the modern philosophers. Although he had enjoyed the advantages of one of the best schools of Europe, where he pursued his work with interest and vigor, he found himself at the end of his course involved in serious doubts. His distrust for what he had regarded as reliable knowledge grew so rapidly that he soon doubted all the traditions and scholasticism that had been handed down. With startling audacity he finally declared that he doubted everything in the world except his own existence. On this platform—*cogito, ergo sum*—he founded a new philosophy. Working from this known fact he attempted to

draw conclusions. He attempted to analyze habitual thinking to determine those truths which were self-evident. Those principles which could not be doubted he called innate ideas. Those ideas which he believed could be acquired by intuition were then to be applied to interpret the world of concrete facts by deduction, and so new and permanent conclusions were to be gained. This was a purely rationalistic process which lent itself easily and naturally to the treatment of the mathematician. By such methods of thinking Descartes concluded that the world was divided into three constituent parts: two substances, mind and matter, and one ultimate reality called God. Thus Descartes laid the foundation for a mechanistic view of the world and exalted the power of reason in the discovery of the final secrets of the universe.

Spinoza (1632-1677) felt the weakness of the Cartesian dualism, and began a search for the ultimate unity of things. Mind and matter he conceived to be attributes of the one God, hence they could not interfere with or act on each other, but an exact parallelism would exist between them. The rationalism which took its rise from Descartes had tended to remove God from the world until He was looked upon as little more than an observer. This made the idea of God superfluous and rendered an interpretation of the world ultimately impossible.

The philosophy of Spinoza marks the return of

the conception of God as the One all omnipotent, all powerful. The enthusiasm with which Spinoza abandoned himself to the thought of the oneness and immanence of God led Novalis to call him the "God intoxicated," but to his God he ascribed "neither passion nor purpose nor will nor moral worth," and he denied the freedom of the will of the individual.

Leibnitz agreed with Spinoza on the unity of the world but he rebelled against his conception which left no place for the reality of men and things. As a practical man of affairs he was also opposed to Spinoza's rejection of teleology, or his lack of purpose in the world. At the same time he accepted the general idea of the purely mechanical view of the physical world which both Descartes and Spinoza had championed. How could he retain this conception and at the same time justify individual intelligence and freedom in the world of concrete things? This was his problem.

To do this Leibnitz reconstructed the idea of substance, both mental and physical, with considerable boldness of imagination. Descartes had defined matter as extended (*res extensa*) while Spinoza had been led into a contradiction by defining substance as being extended (matter) and inextended (mind). Leibnitz substituted for the idea of extension in matter resistance, thus anticipating the modern physicists who assert that the essence of matter is force. (75, p. 343.) In fact he considered the ultimate reality of the world as

nothing but force. The conception of the world of matter as inert or dead was therefore banished. The rock-ribbed hills were no longer lifeless but expressions of a mighty energy. The unit of reality Leibnitz called the monad, which he thought of as having a spiritual nature. The differences in the world called body and mind he believed to be due to the differences of the organizations of these monads. Every monad is a thought life, but this thought may be clear or confused. Confused life constitutes the material monads which might by comparison be likened to a swoon. What is known as the soul is a group of monads partially conscious of itself. In every individual there is, of course, a large number of monads, vague and confused, which we call the body and those which are more distinct which we call the mind or soul. The differences noted in the world are then differences of degree rather than kind. There are no breaks in nature. All is continuous, made of the same stuff and differentiated only by its organization.

While thus apparently establishing the genuineness of the reality of the individuals, Leibnitz had to strain his philosophy to account for unity. He spurned the idea of the monads responding from some outer act. Each monad must move because of its own active principle, and each is independent also of every other. But how can we then have an ordered world? Leibnitz replied, "By pre-established harmony." This meant that the

monads were to be windowless but not entirely isolated. The world of reality is a vast multitude of monads, each of which is developed according to its own inner law but in harmony with all others. Development means that each monad is to make real all the possibilities of its nature. The goal of life means getting rid of confused ideas and arising to the clearness of the vision of things as they exist for God. Since the monad is fixed at the beginning and the course of its development is fixed, man's freedom means that nothing from the outside determines him. He is determined solely by the law of his own nature. For Leibnitz then the mechanical view of the world and teleology were not incongruous.

Because of Leibnitz' belief in the innateness of ideas and his disregard for empiricism he is still to be regarded as one of the schoolmen even though he was bold and original, and sketched with a poet's fancy an ideal world. Although confining his speculation almost entirely to the metaphysical, Leibnitz presents for us a suggestive sketch for the development of the race and the world. His idea of evolution, however, was not that of the natural scientist. He did not show that in the process of development each step grew out of a previous one, for he conceived each monad as being predetermined to take its particular place in the world. He could not explain, for example, how animals came to be developed under given conditions. Nevertheless he prepared the way

for the general acceptance of the doctrine of evolution.

Christian Wolff (1674-1754), who followed Leibnitz, was by nature a systematizer possessing little originality. He put the philosophy of Leibnitz into scholastic form but in doing so changed it into a purely "rational ontology, psychology, cosmology, and theology" (75, p. 368), thereby robbing it of its life, freedom, and genius. He entirely ignored the principle of historical continuity, presented happiness as a life aim, and represented the power of reason as being adequate to demonstrate ultimate verities. In his attempt to represent reason as the guiding spirit in life he stands for extreme rationalism. His philosophy was popular with Frederick the Great and the members of his court and flourished, but neither Wolff nor any of his followers were successful in appreciating the undercurrent of Leibnitz philosophy. (30, p. 199.) The Leibnitz-Wolffian metaphysics continued to dominate the schools of Germany down to the time of Kant.

The logical follower of Leibnitz was the poet and theologian, Gottfried Ephraim Lessing. His approach to the philosophy of Leibnitz was not, however, from its speculative side; he was not concerned primarily in the metaphysical significance of the doctrine of the monads, but he was enthusiastic over the idea of evolution suggested by Leibnitz and its application to historical criticism. Present problems, he maintained, could

be understood and solved not merely by the light of inner reason but from the external records of history. His historical criticism was applied particularly to the development of religions. In history he saw the continuous revelation of God. He believed that the study of the sources of the Christian religion would be a way to correct many misconceptions in religion and abuses in the church that were then current. He was much interested in the development of religion among savage peoples. While regarded as one of the adherents of the *Aufklärung*, he was too broad to accept that brand which was common. He showed that there were great fields of experience that reason could not grasp through its formulas. Reason to him was not the means toward an end but the end itself.

In this revival of the spirit of the philosophy of Leibnitz, Herder was a follower of and co-worker with Lessing. How bitterly he lamented the liberties which Wolff took with the Leibnitzian philosophy! In 1776 he wrote: "Leibnitz loved to make comparisons, to make novel use of other men's ideas, and frequently to couple the most contradictory opinions; thus he saw his whole system not otherwise than as it presented itself to him, as it lived in his soul, in glimpses of wit and imagination, in short essays and in ever familiarizing us with other men's ideas. It had to be felt in the warmth of this origin and of this connection, otherwise Leibnitz' spirit was gone, and with it all the primitive truth of the impression. Wolff,

who was incapable of feeling this, or who, as follower and commentator, had no time for feeling, made theorems out of these prospects and glimpses of wit. They were so much easier to demonstrate, as they had lost their spontaneousness and had become trivial and might mean everything or nothing. The followers of this school-dissector dissected further; the Germanized Latin language of philosophy stood there as a tree on which caterpillars and beetles had left on each leaf a metaphysic of dry threads, so that the dryad wept for mercy—Leibnitz, Leibnitz, where was thy spirit?" (30, pp. 197, 198.)

And the spirit of Leibnitz did live again in Herder. Lessing had applied the principle of development particularly to the evolution of religion, but Herder saw its application to life in all the variety of its forms. Leibnitz had dreamed a beautiful dream of a living universe moving in response to a predetermined and divine harmony toward its goal, with full realization of its possibilities. Leibnitz spoke as a metaphysician, but Herder, ever interested in the solution of practical human problems, saw the relation of this great dream of evolution to the concrete facts related to the development of the world. In his adaptation of this Leibnitzian philosophy he was far from being a slavish imitator. He had a peculiar interest in the origin of the institutions of man, which interest alone commends him as a man of modern spirit and insight. In this search he

arrays himself diametrically against the prevailing doctrine of rationalism. He maintained that what men feel instinctively is more valuable than that which has been acquired by the race through effort. He believed that the free spirit of man had had superposed upon it many burdens of conventionality which had made the real true nature of man more or less obscure. His touchstone of truth was not reason but feeling. Here, of course, he was inspired by Rousseau. (30, pp. 206, 207.) As an observer of man's development, he also brought in another idea, which makes his point of view in comparison with that of Leibnitz essentially that of the natural scientist. He saw the lower stages of development as the condition of the higher. While apparently agreeing with Leibnitz in the endless harmony of the universe, Herder realized that organisms were greatly influenced by their environment. (48, p. 27.) This thought Herder owed doubtlessly to his old teacher Kant before the latter had built up his critical philosophy. So remarkable are some of these observations of Herder that it would almost appear at times as though he was in possession of the specific theories of evolution proposed by Charles Darwin. Herder also like Lessing came under the influence of Spinoza. Rationalism had become more and more deistic so that its view of the universe was that of a soulless machine presided over perfunctorily by an absentee God who had set it in motion.

Spinoza's belief in the unity of God and his immanence in all things profoundly stirred Herder and touched his religious feelings. He saw the divine in all things and so a new and sublime beauty in the universe.

All these ideas were combined in Herder's splendid conception of the philosophy of history. The idea of nothing in the universe being perfected at once but everything being in a state of growth was painted by him with poetic fervor. He was the first among modern thinkers to represent history as one grand unbroken whole dominated securely by cause and effect. (15, p. 326.) A rapid review at this point of his "*Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte*" will show the scope and power of his philosophic and historic vision.

Rationalism, puffed up with its conceit, insisted that meaning could be read into the world only by applying certain principles deduced by pure reasoning; it scorned all historical study, and pinned its faith to rationalistic formulas. Herder with his hatred for everything which was dogmatic and tended to restrict the power of the individual, turned from pure reason to deduce a philosophy of humanity from human feeling and from historical and scientific facts. He was the enemy of all mere metaphysics, which he believed was separated from human experience. He would search for the ideas of the Eternal as manifested by his acts represented in history and nature. The "*Ideen*" included both history and nature but

was neither a work of science or history in itself but dependent on both. It would not be characteristically *Herderisch* if it were not unfinished. He himself in the preface called it the most unfinished work that mortal ever wrote. It is a source of regret that the work, while devoting much space to primitive culture, does not include the philosophy of modern culture.

It is necessary to survey briefly his greatest work, "Die Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte," to appreciate the scope and power of his historic and philosophic vision. (25.)

Herder began his study of the philosophy of history with a consideration of the natural conditions of human existence. The first sentence of the "Ideen" begins with "Our earth is a star among stars." Realizing that man in his development was closely related to and dependent on physical conditions he would begin with those physical conditions. In doing this he postulates one great force that permeates all things, which holds the worlds together and the individuals and the grains of dust to these worlds. There is no break in nature. The soul of the individual is like the constitution of the earth. Everything in the universe is an expression of eternal laws. The construction of the world building insures also the inner life of the individual for all eternity. No matter who and where one is he is always "a force in a system of all the forces, a being in the immeasurable harmony of the world of God."

The universe at bottom then is not merely a world of natural science but also a universe in which eternal laws are operative.

Our earth, from the point of view of its time of revolution, distance from the sun, etc., Herder regarded as one of the medium planets. Believing that there was harmony between living creatures and their surroundings the human being was seen as a mediocre sort of creature adjusted to a mediocre world. Reason cannot therefore be highly developed. The history of the physical earth shows that it has passed through many revolutions. The simple has gradually given way to the complex. The ball-shaped form of the earth in its oneness of form admits great possibilities of variety. Everything everywhere is in the process of change. Even as the solid earth beneath our feet gradually changes, so does everything connected with it such as climate, religion, customs, and the forms of dress. The environmental conditions correspond to the life possibilities. Mountains, rivers, streams, atmospheric conditions, and other physical phenomena affect the language, customs, and culture of a people profoundly. Here Herder approaches very closely the modern scientific point of view of the relation of man to his environment. Sciences like astronomy, meteorology, physical geography, and botany are seen in relation to human problems and as fundamental factors in historical development.

Herder then pushes on toward a conception of the basis of life. This to him is a problem of organization. Nothing is really dead in the sense in which we usually consider it. Everything is thrilled by a unified life. In nature very definite things come into existence, certain shapes and forms reveal themselves according to eternal laws independent of the will of man. Herder saw in his mind's eye the universe of things in a process of growth. Out of the inorganic grew the organic, next the plants, then the animals, and finally man. Each stage of the development is the condition for the next, but this did not mean that one organic form grew immediately out of another and lower form. This was a problem which Herder did not attempt to solve except in a general way. He did show, however, that higher forms of life were dependent on the lower. For example, the elephant is a grave for millions of plants, but it is a living grave in which the plants in large part become a part of the elephant himself. So it is with the carnivorous animals where again a transformation is made to a higher form of organism. Among all the animals, man is the greatest murderer and the assimilator of all beneath him. In him the divine has reached its highest organization and expression. (72, p. 133.)

Herder saw in this longing and struggling of nature for organization the fundamental law of the battle for existence. This did not seem

to him to be an expression of the cruelty of nature, but as the beneficent law of a wise and good mother, who under the given conditions brought forth the greatest number of living creatures. He likewise had the idea of the survival of the best fitted in nature. "There lives everywhere," he says, "what could live under the given conditions." Finally he had the conception of the oneness of man with all living things, as a part of nature. It is not at all clear, however, that in these theories he understood that man and other living creatures grew out of lower forms, but he did seem to grasp the idea that man was to be understood in relation to his environment, and that every living creature was organized for the surroundings in which it lived and moved.

Still further in sympathy with modern scientific tendencies, Herder saw a relationship existing between the organs of the individual creature and its environment. A knowledge of comparative psychology and physiology he believed to be necessary for an understanding of history.

A survey of some characteristic quotations from the "Ideen" will show how near Herder was to the Darwinian theory and modern scientific conceptions.

Darwin and his successors laid particular emphasis on individual differences in nature. Herder says of this:—

"No two leaves of any one tree in nature are to be found perfectly alike, and still less do two

human faces, or human frames, resemble each other." (25, vol. 1, p. 292.)

Modern biological literature suggests that differences of environment are responsible, at least in part, for these changes. Herder's statements of this occur frequently in his works. I quote one of his strongest passages:—

"Those species that inhabit nearly all parts of the globe, are differently formed in almost every climate. In Lapland, the dog is small and ugly; in Siberia he is better shaped, but still has pricked ears, and no considerable magnitude; in those countries, says Buffon, where we meet with the handsomest races of men, we observe the handsomest and largest dogs; within the Arctic and Antarctic circle the dog loses his voice, and in the wild state he resembles the jackal. In Madagascar the ox has a hump on his back weighing fifty pounds, which gradually disappears in distant countries; and this animal varies greatly in colour, size, strength, and courage, in almost every region of the earth. A European sheep acquires at the Cape of Good Hope a tail nineteen pounds in weight; in Iceland he puts on as many as five horns; in the county of Oxford in England, he grows to the size of an ass; and in Turkey his skin is variegated like a tiger's. Thus do all animals vary; and shall not man, who is also in the structure of his nerves and muscles an animal, change with the climate?" (25, vol. 1, p. 64.)

The abundant productiveness of nature and

the great loss through the fierce struggle for existence were treated at length by Darwin. He says in his "Origin of the Species":—

"A struggle for existence inevitably follows from the high rate at which all organic beings tend to increase. Every being, which during its lifetime produces several eggs or seeds, must suffer destruction during some period of its life, and during some season or occasional year, otherwise, on the principle of geometrical increase, its numbers would soon become so inordinately great that no country could support the product."

Herder's thought here runs along similar lines:—

"Nature employs germs, she employs an infinite number of germs, because in her grand progress she promotes a thousand ends at once. She must also calculate upon some loss; as everything is crowded, and nothing finds room to completely develop itself." (25, vol. 1, p. 53.)

"Why acts Nature thus? and why does she thus crowd her creatures one upon another? Because she would produce the greatest number and variety of living beings in the least space, so that one crushes another and an equilibrium of powers can alone produce peace in the creation." (25, vol. 1, p. 61.)

There is at least one noticeable difference here between Darwin and Herder. Darwin merely refers to what the result would be if the productivity of nature were unchecked; Herder assumes a rather familiar acquaintance with nature's plan

and sees in the struggle an eventual equilibrium, a harmony among the powers of nature. Darwin's attitude is purely scientific, holding close to the deduction from the facts while Herder is influenced by the pseudoscientific, and more particularly by the poetic and philosophic.

Amid this great struggle for existence in nature those that are best fitted to survive live and propagate their kind, and those that are least fit perish. This is Darwin's thought supported by a vast number of facts. Herder says: "Millions of creatures have perished that were fated to perish; whatever could preserve itself abides, and still, after the lapse of thousands of years, remains in great harmonious order." Here is a clear statement apparently of the doctrine of the survival of the fittest.

While Herder recognized the great individual differences in nature, it is also rather remarkable that he realized that there was also a similarity of function and structure.

"Nature amid the infinite variety she loves, seems to have fashioned all the living creatures on our earth after one grand model of organization." (25, vol. 1, p. 69.)

Herder refuses to accept the idea that the apes and men were ever of the same species, but with extraordinary perspicacity he noticed that there was a similarity between the structure of man and many animals that was not easily observed. "How many beasts, altogether unlike man in

outward appearance, are internally, in the structure of the skeleton, the peripheral parts of sensation and vitality, nay, in the vital functions, strikingly similar to him." (25, vol. 1, p. 70.)

These quotations from Herder would tend to show that he was in possession of the whole of the big story of evolution:—

"Earth has undergone many revolutions ere it became what it now is.

"Water has overflowed it, and formed fossil strata, mountains and valleys; fire has raged, burst the shell of the globe, raised up mountains, and thrown out melted entrails of the earth; air, enclosed in the earth, has excavated it, and assisted the eruption of the powerful element of fire; winds have exercised their fury on its surface, and a still more powerful cause has changed its zones." (25, vol. 1, p. 121.)

"Various combinations of water, air and light must have taken place before the seeds of the first vegetable organization, of moss perhaps, could have appeared. Many plants must have sprung up and died, before organized animals were produced; and among these, insects and birds, aquatic and nocturnal animals, must have preceded the more perfect animals of the land and the day; till finally to crown the organization of our earth, Man, the Microcosm, arose. He, the son of all the elements and beings, their choicest summary and the flower of the creation, could not but be the last darling child of Nature; whose

formation and reception various evolutions and changes must have preceded." (25, vol. 1. pp. 14, 15.)

"From air and water, from heights and depths, I see the animals coming to man, as they came to the first father of our race, and step by step approaching his form. The bird flies in the air; every deviation of its figure from the structure of the quadruped is explicable from its element; and no sooner does it approach the earth in a hideous equivocal genus, as in the bat and the vampire, but it resembles the human skeleton. The fish swims in the water; its feet and hands are transformed into tail and fins; its limbs have few articulations. When, as in the manatee, it touches the earth, its forefeet are at last set free, and the female acquires breasts. The seabear and the sea lion have all their four feet perceptible, though they cannot use the hinder ones, the toes of which drag after them as shreds of fins. They creep about, however, slowly, as well as they can, to bask themselves in the beams of the sun; and are raised at least one short step above the stupid shapeless seadog. Thus from the slime of the worm, from the calcareous abode of the shellfish, from the web of the insect, a better limbed and superior organization gradually rises." (25, vol. 1, p. 72.)

It is true that Herder sees in the realm of the creation "not only a *connected chain* but an *ascending series of powers*" acting in organized forms;

yet while apparently tantalizingly near the Darwinian theory he missed the heart of it, the idea of one species growing directly out of another. He sees in life "a beautiful scale according to which, as the organization of a creature is more elaborate, its capacity for supporting various states, and adapting itself to each, is increased," but the relation of an organism to the one below it is merely a likeness that the two have. Man is regarded by Herder as the most complex of creatures, and he finds this complexity growing up through plants and animals. Listen to Herder's statement of it: "His blood and various component parts are a compendium of the world: earths and salts, acids and alkalies, oil and water, the powers of vegetation, of irritability, and of sensation, are organically combined in him and interwoven together." (25, vol. 1, p. 191.)

It is plain to see that Herder is after all an evolutionist of the school of Leibnitz, and while abhorring dogmatism his philosophy at heart was dogmatic. Taking Leibnitz' philosophy as a base he collected facts from nature and made them fit into the scheme. Still, if he did miss the real essence of a scientific doctrine of evolution, he saw the world as one of change, as one of becoming, and presents to us an optimistic philosophy.

"In a system of changeable things, if there be progress there must be destruction; apparent destruction, that is; or a change of figures and

forms. But this never affects the interior of nature, which, exalted above all destruction, continually rises as a phoenix from its ashes, and blooms with youthful vigor." (25, vol. 1, p. 16.)

Herder was the first to see life as a whole, to realize that it was a becoming, and that truth was to be discovered by searching for the origins of things. If he did not strongly influence scientific thought and research, he did give the world the evolutionary method of work a good half century before Darwin, and it is almost unbelievable that he should be so neglected by the chroniclers of the world's thought.

And what is the goal of all this becoming in the universe? Real humanity. It is this for which man is organized. He is born to spread out over the earth and eventually to become its master, to have refined thoughts, to use his own language and to be artistic. His natural tendencies also lead him to be sympathetic, companionable, just, righteous, to be healthy, to love liberty and to be religious. It is in religion that man realizes his highest humanity. "True religion is a child-like service of God, an imitation of the highest and most beautiful in human form, and consequently the innermost peace, the most effective goodness and human love." (72, p. 124.) Man is destined by nature also to have a hope for immortality. Humanity found its highest expression, according to Herder, in the life and works of Jesus.

In a metaphysical sense Herder saw back of the rising succession of living beings "from the stone to the crystal, from the crystal to the metals, from these to plants, from the plants to animals and from these to men, a rising succession of divine powers. These could be grasped in themselves but not in their appearances. Like Leibnitz he believed in a world of unfolding spiritual activity which in its essential parts reflected the universe. He goes back to the sources of life. The source is life, and life is divine. His world is a world of the inexhaustible living Divine. His conception is like a mighty poem penetrated throughout by the unity of a palpitating soul. The essence of the world according to Herder is essentially goodness, truth, and beauty, in a word, religious.

The second part of the "Ideen" refers more to ethnology and anthropology, in which he strives to give the universal principles underlying the life of the peoples. He notices first of all the organization of the different peoples in different parts of the world, in Europe, Asia, etc. In every place he finds the development of the people corresponding to the conditions under which they live. People respond not only to their surroundings but also to their traditions and their habits. With sympathetic insight he tries to understand the various peoples in relation to their past and their environment. As man begins his march upward, he takes his first lessons

in learning from nature and the animals and finally from the stage of hunter to barbarian through the various stages of culture. No condition he says is so indicative of the character of man or a nation than its attitude toward woman.

In sympathy with the doctrines of the *Aufklärung*, Herder also maintained that happiness was the natural goal of man, but he refused to believe that the road to it could be found by the mere application of the formulas of reason. It is not to be sought in the wild surging of thoughts and feelings but in their relation to the really inner gratification of our existence. Happiness rests on the activity of the whole soul, and it is a possibility for everybody according to his place and his inner tendencies. Everybody carries within himself the forms in accordance with which he can be happy. To be in any place and at any time what one might be, to be active and in this activity to come to the realization of one's powers—that is happiness.

This attainment of happiness, this realization of humanity, Herder thought could not be developed by the individual alone, in isolation from others. Man becomes human through his association with other human beings. This realization of self is, however, something which is not static but something which is becoming. This *Werden*, becoming of humanity, in all the multiplicity of its human forms, is the content of history. Each attains humanity through *Übung* in his own

family and amid other social relationships. Man makes his progress also on the basis of tradition so that history becomes a unity. Language, which has had a natural development, because of its instrumentality in transferring culture, therefore becomes a mighty factor in historical development.

The third and fourth parts of the "Ideen" make an historical survey up to the times of humanism and the reformation. The third part referred to the ancient world, and the fourth to the Middle Ages. Herder regards history as connected throughout, as one great individual which passes through various stages from infancy (the Orient) through boyhood (Egypt and Phœnicia) to old age (the Christian world). (14, p. 311.) In all this Herder did not confine himself to a mere recital of facts but he endeavored to make clear the development of man's culture in relation to the natural, geographic, and climatic conditions of life. The character of the people was expressed in the languages, arts, sciences, government, and religion. All these evidences of culture he considered in a liberal and unpartisan way. His sympathy with primitive culture was unusual but Herder probably reached his greatest heights in his study of the Greeks. It is a study not merely of the Greek poetry but also of Greek culture and its place in the cultural development of the world. So Herder passes in review the

development of the various peoples. With the feeling of a poet, and the insight of a philosopher, Herder saw human life as a whole in its becoming on the way to victory.

I quote from a translation of Francke, which shows in a concise fashion how deep was Herder's insight into and his appreciation of history:—

“If no sunbeam that ever fell upon our earth has been lost, no withered leaf fallen from a tree, no corpse of a decaying animal, no seed blown away by the wind, how much less could an action of a conscious being have remained without effect? Every one of the living generations has progressed within the limits which other generations put to it; and the industry of man as well as the madness of his ravages has become an instrument of life in the hands of time. Upon the ruins of destroyed cities there arise verdant fields, cultivated by a new, hopeful people. Divine Omnipotence itself cannot ordain that effect should not be effect; it cannot change the earth into what it was a thousand years ago. Let any one of our day try to sing an *Iliad*, to write like *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, or *Plato*; it is impossible. The simple childlike frame of mind, the naïve way of looking at the world which the Greeks possessed, are irrevocable things of the past. We, on the other hand, have and know a great many things of which neither Greeks, nor Jews, nor Romans knew. One century has taught the other; tradition has become fuller; history,

the muse of time, speaks now with a hundred voices, blows on a hundred flutes. And even the confusion which has resulted from this enormous increase of knowledge is a necessary part of human progress. All beings have their center in themselves, and each stands in a well-proportioned relation to all the rest; they all depend on the equilibrium of antagonistic forces, held together by one central organizing power. With this certainty for a guide I wander through the labyrinth of history and see everywhere harmonious, divine order. For whatever can happen happens; whatever can work does work. Reason only and justice abide; madness and folly destroy themselves. It is a beautiful thing to dream of a future life, to imagine one's self in friendly intercourse with all the wise and good men who ever worked for humanity and entered the higher land with the sweet reward of accomplished labor. But, in a certain sense, history also opens to us these delightful bowers of friendship and discourse with the upright and thoughtful of all times. Here Plato stands before me; there I hear Socrates' kindly questionings, and share in his last fate. When Marcus Antoninus in his chamber communes with his heart he also speaks to mine; and poor Epictetus gives commands more powerful than those of a king. The ill-starred Tullius, the unfortunate Boethius, speak to me, confiding to me the circumstances of their lives, the anguish and comfort of their souls. Thus history leads

us, as it were, into the council of fate, teaches us the eternal laws of human nature, and assigns to us our own place in that great organism in which reason and goodness have to struggle, to be sure, with chaotic forces, but always, according to their very nature, must create order and go forward on the path of victory." (15, pp. 327, 328.)

Since Herder's fundamental views on philosophy are fairly well presented in his "Ideen," no effort will be made here to review his other philosophical writings. It remains for us to note briefly his place in the history of philosophical thought.

In the sense of having proposed a philosophical system characterized by logic and rationality, Herder deserves little or no place in the history of philosophy. But the soil from which a plant grows and the germination of the seed are as important perhaps as the fruit itself. (72, p. 7.) In this attitude Herder's position in the development of philosophical thought is unique, and this in spite of the fact that he seldom wrote in the language of the philosopher.

We have noted again and again his opposition to the rationalistic philosopher. Men like Rousseau and Hamann had already led the way, but it was Herder who first put the reactionary movement on a firm basis and gave it solidity. (13, p. 434.) This was not a result merely of his revulsion of feeling, but because he penetrated beyond to a conception of human life as an organic

whole. He was the first to adopt the historical method in the effort to find meaning in the world as a whole. Bossert (7) said of Herder that he "created the historical method which revived the study of language, literature, and religion, and he applied it with such authority and such competence that he rendered for a long time any other method impossible." This method with the enthusiasm which followed doubtless led the way for the romantic writers and the historical school. (13, p. 434.) In his search for origins both in science and history he foreshadowed the progress of culture for a century after his time. He had a marked influence on German idealism, especially on Schelling (14, pp. 311, 312) and Hegel. (44, vol. 1, p. 8, and 76, p. 127.)

As a metaphysician, Herder's influence was not marked, because of his lack of system and his frequent confusion of ideas. His strenuous battles against the tendencies to abstract any given faculty of the mind, such as reason, and to unduly exalt it probably did much to strengthen the idea of the unity of the mind.

It is no exaggeration to say that Herder foreshadowed the modern trend in psychology. We have already noticed that he insisted on the unity of the mind, fundamentally a modern doctrine, but beyond this he was even more sympathetic with the views held by psychologists to-day. His interpretations of life throughout are based

on biology rather than introspection. Here he is in striking accord with the most recent developments in psychology, which tend to consider psychology more and more as the science of behavior. With his characteristic breadth of mind, Herder considers psychology under what we would call physiological, animal, child, social, and comparative psychology. They are treated fragmentarily, often curiously, but suggestively. His method, as might be expected, is the genetic.

His biological treatment might be illustrated by the way he considers human love. Man prides himself on his being spontaneous yet in this "he obeys the law of Nature almost as blindly as a plant. Even the thistle, man observes, is beautiful when in flower; and we know that in plants the time of flowering is the season of love. The calyx is the bed, the corolla the curtain; the other parts of the flower are the organs of generation, which in these innocent beings Nature has exposed to view, and adorned with all splendor. The flower cup of love she has made like the bridal bed of Solomon, and a cup of pleasure even for other creatures. Why did she all this? and why interwove she also in the band of human love the most pleasing charms that graced her own cestus? That her great end might be accomplished; not the little purpose of the sensual creature alone, which she so elegantly adorned: this end is *the propagation, the continuance of the species.*" (25.)

Some passages from Herder are so accurate as to fact that, with some slight modification, they might be thought to be extracts from some modern book in psychology. The following passage illustrates to some degree his grasp of the meaning of the instincts, particularly in early infancy:—

“He has every instinct that any of the animals around him possess; only, in conformity to his organization, he has them softened down to a more delicate proportion. The infant in the mother’s womb seems under a necessity of going through every state that is proper to a terrestrial creature. He swims in water; he lies prone with open mouth; his jaws are large, before the lips, which are not formed till late, can cover them; no sooner does he come into the world than he gasps after air, and sucking is the first act he performs untaught. The whole process of digestion and nutrition, of hunger and thirst, proceeds instinctively, or by some still more obscure impulse. The muscular and procreative powers strive in like manner to develop themselves; and if some passion or disease deprive a man of his reason, all the animal instincts will be observable in him. Danger and necessity unfold in a man, nay in whole nations that lead a savage life, the capacities, senses and powers of beasts.” (25, vol. 1, pp. 158, 159.)

Many pages of Herder’s “Ideen” are devoted to a comparative study of the bodily structure

and functions of animals and man. This comparison included the study of sense organs, the size and structure of the brain, posture, language, etc. I quote one of his finest passages on this sort of comparative study:—

“There exists no virtue, no propensity, in the human heart, which has not somewhere in the animal world its similitude, to which the forming mother has *organically* habituated the animal. It must provide for itself; it must learn to love its offspring; necessity and the seasons compel it into society, if it be only to have companions in travel. Appetite impels this animal to love; necessity constrains that to marriage, to a sort of republic, to social order. However obscurely all this takes place, however shortly much of this endures, still it is imprinted in the nature of the animal, and we see it there strongly, we see it in return; nay, it is irresistible, it is indelible. By how much the more obscurely and inwardly all this operates, the fewer thoughts are combined, and the less frequent the impulse acts, so much the stronger is the propensity, so much the more perfect its effects. Thus everywhere occur prototypes of human modes of action, in which animals are exercised; and if this be a sin against Nature, it is to resolve still to consider them as machines, while we hold before our eyes their system of nerves, their structure resembling ours, their wants and mode of life the same.”

The harmonious adaptation of man's senses and faculties to his environment is one of the dominant principles in his psychology. "My eye," he said, "is framed to support the beams of the sun at this distance, and no other; my ear for this atmosphere; my body for a globe of this intensity; all my senses, from and for the organization of this earth; to which also the actions of my mental faculties are adapted." (25, vol. 2, p. 4.) It is not natural selection which fashions the structure of the organs, however, but the power operating with the organ. (25, vol. 1, p. 198.)


Herder realized as no man before him had done man's setting in society, history, and nature. It was impossible for him, like Rousseau, to think of man as an independent individual in nature. Man to him could never be anything but a social being. His language, his customs, his culture, must be the product not of individual achievement but of humanity as a whole. "For no one of us becomes man of himself: the whole structure of his humanity is connected by a spiritual birth, education, with his parents, teachers, friends; with all the circumstances of his life, and consequently with his countrymen and their forefathers; and lastly with the whole chain of the human species, some link or other of which is continually acting on his mental faculties." (25, vol. 1, p. 408.)

We can but marvel at Herder's insight into

the general field of psychology. The scope of his mind and his method compel admiration. It might be said and with truth that his ideas were not so modern as they appear to be because at base they are founded on metaphysics from which psychology has gradually divorced itself. Nevertheless his appreciation of mind and body as being bound up indissolubly with the nervous system, the adaptation of organs to their environment, man's similarity to animals, and finally his vital relationship to the complex world of things and society, coupled with his genetic method, rightly entitle him to an important place in the history of psychology, even if he was somewhat obsessed with the idea of the world as an "inconceivable harmony."

Herder's service to religion was monumental. Here again we find him a foe of the *Aufklärung*, which would make everything amenable to common understanding, which attempted to force truth into the narrow moulds of intellectualism. As a follower of Rousseau and Hamann, Herder entertained a profound contempt for such rationalistic procedure. He was not impressed by the merely traditional, the dogmas, the artificiality of churches. He tried to find the genuine religious feelings of the people which had become largely suppressed by rules and dogma. As a student of civilization, he went back to the study of the ancient and primitive religions with enthusiasm, intelligence, and insight. Although often reflecting

the spirit of traditionalism and the spirit of the past, he was remarkably open minded. The bigot finds nothing to praise in religions outside of his own; but Herder was superior to the littleness of mind often characteristic of the theolog. Jordan says (34, pp. 141, 142) that Herder was "the first to affirm that religion is a constituent element in man's nature, and that it is therefore bound to disclose itself wherever man is found." Every expression of religion, no matter where it might be found, was for him a vital and valid part of man's original nature. In a sense everything about man that was worth while was a matter of religion, for religion to him meant ideal humanity, and the worth of every religion was considered from this standpoint. Jastrow has called Herder the founder of the historical treatment of religion. (34, p. 141.) He studied the various religions of mankind, and was perhaps the first to work in this field with absolute impartiality and under the dominance of the strictest historical motive. This method could not be unproductive of results. Of this Jordan says: "His influence upon his own and succeeding ages has been immense. His sole aim was to discover the facts, all the facts, and nothing but the facts, and to this test he submitted the claims of Christianity, and quite as rigidly as the claims of any other religion." In the life of Christ Herder found revealed the highest humanity, but he believed that churches, creeds, and dogmas had largely



made this humanity obscure. Back of the outward form he searched for the real spirit of Christianity, which he was able to discover in the perspective of history.

The power and beauty of the Bible he placed above the dogma of the churches. To behold the rationalists interpret the scriptures by the application of their strict intellectuality annoyed him beyond measure, because it meant the destruction of the biblical poetry and religious strength. Herder insisted that the Bible could not be studied apart from the consideration of the times in which it was written if one was to catch its enthusiasm and its visions. He insisted that we must transport ourselves to Eastern methods of thought to interpret it aright. We must read each of the biblical writings with reference to its setting if we are to be one with the prophets. Such a broad and comprehensive view of the scriptures no doubt prepared the way for the objective and historical methods of Bible study followed in our own time. (59, p. 22.)

Herder's religious writings extending over many years were not relatively consistent and frequently they exhibit in comparison much confusion. For example, in his "Archologie der Hebraer," he nowhere speaks of a supernatural religion, for religion is regarded as a natural part of man's nature, and must be understood apart from dogma. While this view was consistent with those held by him during his maturer years at Weimar, some

of his writings while at Bückeburg show him as an apologist of the supernatural. In his study of the New Testament he meant to apply the same criteria of criticism that he had made use of in his literary studies, but he found in the New Testament that which almost overpowered him, a sense of wonderful religious and moral power. This renouncing of his earlier scientific and critical views can be best explained probably by his peculiarity of temperament and the character of his associates at that time. Pfeiderer (59, p. 25) says, "This mysticism of Herder's in which æsthetic taste combined with the noblest feeling and ideal pathos to drown the calm voice of critical reason was indubitably the beginning of that initial movement which was carried farther by romanticism and blossomed forth luxuriantly in the reactionary theology of our century." While Herder was swayed by his emotions and natural prejudices, it is interesting to note that he regained his composure. His later writings show religion developing as naturally as the blade of grass or the lilies of the field.

Herder's conception of God was firmly rooted in Spinoza and Leibnitz. God he regarded as the "underived original and universal force, underlying and including all forces.'" (59, p. 27.) As an external and original force he was conceived to possess infinite thought and operation. All power, all goodness, and all wisdom were indivisibly one in Him. "God is in all his works," and He is

not confined to writings which men call scriptures or to institutions which are known as churches. God is to be found in every part of nature, and in all creation. Within everything is essentially in harmony, good and beautiful. Every true law of nature discovered therefore reveals some rule of the eternally divine Intelligence "whose thought alone can be truth and whose activity reality."

Herder's conception of God, as we have already suggested, was a combination of Spinoza's monism with the theism of Leibnitz. Pfleiderer thus briefly and tersely describes the character and source of this conception: "Spinoza's substance becomes operative thinking force; his modes of substance become living forces, resembling Leibnitz' monads, but operative as well as perceptive, whose harmony is therefore no longer, as in Leibnitz, pre-established, but is inherent in the actual interaction of the forces. With Spinoza, Herder rejects the external teleology of particular arbitrary purposes, but with Leibnitz he recognizes in necessity, according to law, the internal adaptation of things to ends, in the laws of nature the thoughts of God, in the golden chain of nature the divine wisdom and goodness."

Herder's definition of life as force enabled him to draw many conclusions that were optimistic for religion. Force being the reality, there can be no actual death. What occurs is a destruction

of certain appearances. Force and the interaction of forces carry on their work. This persistence of force cannot be conceived without progress. In the kingdom of God there can be no retrogression, no standing still, but the establishment of order from chaos. The whole world Herder saw as a becoming, as a gradual development toward perfect humanity. Erdmann has aptly called him "the world-intoxicated."

As an adherent of Rousseau, Herder considered the original nature of man good. "All the errors of man," he said, "are a fog of the truth." Even the storms of sea, devastating and destructive though they may be, belong to a harmonious world order. Death, pain, sin, etc., must then be illusions. Like many who have advocated such ideas since that time, he found no very good explanations for the fog. The dogma of sin and salvation, usually considered so vital in theology, he thought had no connection with theology. Pfeiderer suggests that this probably accounts for the insignificance of Herder's direct influence on theology.

Even if Herder did not contribute directly to theology, it cannot be denied that his service in the cause of religion was profound. He emphasized religion as a natural process, founded the historical and comparative study of religion, and paved the way for the modern scientific interpretation of the scriptures.

CHAPTER XXII

HERDER'S SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY

The Revolt against Formalism in the Eighteenth Century—The Arch Rebel, Rousseau—Herder's Conception of Culture, Social—A Growth not Spread by Force—Opposing Theories of Bernhardt and Treitschke—Herder Advocates Founding of Academy to Unite Germans—Would Make Wars Unnecessary—Herder and Boas on Culture—Herder Anticipated Modern Race Pedagogy.

The eighteenth century was characterized by a revolt against formalism and a return to a simpler form of living. This significant movement was inaugurated by Rousseau, who led a vigorous and dramatic attack against civilization in his remarkable books, "Emile" and "The Social Contract." In both politics and education Rousseau turned to the forgotten and oppressed individual to assure him that the feelings which sometimes surged through his heart, the repressed longings of his soul, might and could rightly be satisfied. His was the call to the downtrodden in every land to claim those rights that were theirs as human beings, to cast aside tradition, to regenerate the world so that the natural desires of every individual might be realized. Man by free right could throw off the chains that weighed him down and breathe the air of liberty, if he would. This doctrine of extreme individualism voiced the mute appeal of the submerged millions, dominated the French Revolution, and shook the

thrones of Europe; yet this philosophy contained only half truths, and Rousseau's most important theories lacked historical and scientific support. The records of the past do not lead us to suspect that man ever lived in isolation, or that he ever possessed those rights which Rousseau so fondly imagined; the opposite rather seems to have been true that man as he has advanced from savagery and barbarism has become freer, and that he is by virtue of all that we know of his past and present fundamentally a social being.

The great emphasis which Rousseau laid on the sacredness and worth of the spontaneity of the individual was eagerly accepted by Herder but he disagreed with Rousseau as to how these characteristics could be attained. The fantastic Utopia of primitive man he discarded for a developing human being in a social relationship. Society, too, as a whole was in a process of becoming. Any self-realization of man he believed was impossible if he were allowed to develop in isolation in nature; he would tend to be a brute, not a man. The development of the real humanity of an individual was not to be dependent on the free expression of his innate impulses but on education (27, vol. 30, p. 86), the aim of which is to make the *Mensch* happy and useful in many ways, to make him a Christian and a citizen in the varied situations in which Providence has placed him. (27, vol. 30, p. 45.) He is to develop virtues which are individual but also

useful to the state. While in perhaps none of his educational writings is the social aspect so clear as in Pestalozzi's "Leonard and Gertrude," his belief in the improvement of society through education is unmistakable. This was well shown by his reformation of the Weimar gymnasium so as to minister to the needs of two different classes of students—those who must earn their own living as artisans and those who were destined to become scholars.

The sworn enemy of imitation and a firm believer in the self-realization of the possibilities of the individual, Herder at the same time was among the first to realize the social significance of culture. According to Herder the poets and artists, the leaders in the development of culture, were not themselves the originators or creators of that culture; they merely expressed for the most part the folk soul of the people, mirrored the thoughts of their particular country, her faults and virtues, her hopes and aspirations; they reflected the age in which they lived, and, with prophetic insight, looked toward the future. True culture Herder regarded as indigenous, natural to a particular soil. The Greek culture was most genuine because of its indigenous character. Roman culture was less real because it was largely an imitation of the Greek. Real culture must spring spontaneously from the lives and traditions of the people. For one people, with its individual environment and historic

and traditional past, to try to take on a culture which was foreign seemed to Herder most absurd and impossible. The inferiority of the German literature Herder maintained was due to the imitation of foreign literatures. "Many of our best poems," he says, "are based on the oriental, but our poets forget that David and Job did not sing under a sky or amid a landscape like ours, and the consequence is that the lamb and the tiger, Jordan and the Rhine, get mixed up in very quaint confusion; our whole nationality, too, is different, and, although Voltaire goes too far in regretting that 'a stupid little people in an obscure corner of the earth has been so highly exalted,' yet it is ridiculous for Cramer and Zachariä to sing our national thanksgivings in the style of Miriam by the Red Sea, and for our other poets to cram their verses with oriental metaphors and mythology, which is indeed contrary to the whole tone of the Christian religion, so that even Klopstock's Christian Psalms are often wearisome if not absurd. Our whole manner of life is distinct, and it would be much more profitable to explain the spirit of the oriental poems than to imitate them." (53, p. 107.)

It is to the undying glory of Herder that largely through his criticism, Germany was inspired to develop her own *Kulturgeschichte* with its high degree of individuality and genius; yet no one more than he would have rebelled at the suggestion that Germany had any higher possibilities of

cultural development because of nationality and race than another. Such a thought was most abhorrent. He taught the great lesson that culture was genuine to the extent that it was a natural and spontaneous expression of the social self. Every nation, he believed, had within itself the more or less latent power to develop a high culture.

Many of the distinguished men who came after Herder failed to agree with his conception of culture. Treitschke (21), for example, was so enamored of Prussian civilization that he gave up his native home in Saxony and became a Prussian citizen. Subsequently he became the chief panegyrist of the house of Hohenzollern, and a very sturdy supporter of the Bismarckian policy. He vigorously seconded the plan of the Prussian government to repress the nationality of the Poles and Jews, and force upon them the Prussian culture. He would Prussianize the whole of Germany. All Germany was to become an expansion of Prussia, "*ein erweitertes Preussen.*" He believed further in the conversion of people living beyond the boundaries of Germany to Prussian culture if necessary by force of arms. Such a political and moral philosophy was founded essentially on two beliefs: (1) that German culture was the world's highest and best expression of civilization; and (2) that there was an ethical justification in spreading this culture through war. Speaking of Germany's culture Treitschke

says that it "enriched the store of traditional European culture with new and independent ideas and ideals, and won a position in the great community of civilized nations which none else could fill." (4, pp. 73, 74.) Filled with a sense of the bigness and grandeur of Germany's civilization and divine destiny it was not strange perhaps that he should advocate the seizing of Holland to enlarge Germany's influence and power. Probably no modern writer, unless it be Bernhardi, who represents the military caste of Germany, has so glorified war. The maintenance of those virtues constituting the flower of civilization, Treitschke believed, would finally become non-existent if war ceased to exist. "Wars," he says, "are terrible, but necessary, for they save the state from social petrefaction and stagnation. It is well that the transitoriness of the goods of this world is not only preached, but is learnt by experience. War alone teaches this lesson." (4, pp. 26-27.) Herder's philosophy, on the contrary, was thoroughly opposed to the idea that the state could be founded on force or that culture could be spread by means of the sword.

It was inconceivable to Herder that a state representing spiritual and ethical culture could be builded on so frail a structure as brute strength. Not through repression but through nature alone must civilization really move forward. The most natural state is a social organization the divine purpose of which is to further that in every

individual for which nature intended him. The larger philosophy of Herder is again revealed. As in the case of the church and the school, the state must satisfy the great world hunger for self-realization. (42, pp. 343-347.)

In Herder's time the idea of German unity was but a dream, but one that warmed his heart; yet the idea of accomplishing this by force of arms, by "blood and iron," was abhorrent. From boyhood he was bitterly opposed to military service. It became his settled conviction that offensive warfare should be abolished and that arms should be used legitimately only in self-defense. Wars of conquest he believed to be incompatible with human welfare. Claims to national glory based upon success in arms were a mockery. (1-A, pp. 143, 144.)

A short time before his Italian journeys he wrote at the suggestion of the Margrave of Baden a memorial on "An Idea for the First Patriotic Institute for the General Spirit of Germany." In this Herder expresses his regret that Germany is so divided into many provinces and peoples. German unity is uppermost in his mind. This he believes could be accomplished by bringing about among the diverse elements of Germany a better understanding so that reason and justice may reign. For the establishment of this unity he advocated the founding of an academy; unlike the French Academy, which was founded to further the purity of language, it should make

for the cultivation of nationalism. This *Teutsche Akademie* (42, pp. 519-522) with its representatives from all of Germany should seek to unify the spiritual and traditional culture of the peoples. The activity of this academy was conceived to be purely literary. In its impersonal and unpartisan consideration of the language and literature and history of Germany, in fact, of all of her cultural resources, an intelligent and sympathetic interest in the Fatherland was to be aroused. "For Germany," he said, "has only one interest, the life and happiness of the whole." In this paper Herder thought out with considerable care the organization and policies of this academy. The unity of Germany was to be accomplished by working outwardly from the spirit. Misunderstandings were to be brushed aside so that "everywhere where one lives in Germany he may feel that he belongs to Germany." With a burst of joyous enthusiasm Herder exclaims: "The narrow spirit of individual sections will die out, the darkness which reigns in obscure corners will be dispelled by the light of humanity, reason, justice and truth."


Karl August had grave doubts about the carrying out of Herder's plan because of the practical difficulties involved, particularly the cost. The Margrave of Baden was satisfied to begin more modestly, but this did not appeal to Herder, who wished to unify the whole of Germany. The plan came to naught, but it is interesting

historically as showing the breadth of Herder's mind and his attitude toward the problems of culture. To one of Herder's catholicity of spirit and scientific insight, a narrow, bigoted patriotism was impossible. The onward march of civilization was not to be inspired by the sword, the culture of one people was not to be forced upon another; but civilization was to find its greatest glory in allowing every people to develop that culture which was native to its soil and traditions. It is to the undying credit of the great men of that age, Goethe, Schiller, and others, that the spirit of provincialism, which later so afflicted Germany, was foreign to them. This distinguished group with Herder as its original inspirer was among the first in the world to teach the great lessons of cosmopolitanism, humanity.

Herder's convictions as to the methods of achieving national unity and world brotherhood may seem impracticable and visionary, but they are voiced anew in our own day by the distinguished anthropologist, Franz Boas, who maintains that the next step in the evolution of mankind is to be a repetition of the process of nationalization on a larger scale, namely, the federation of nations. This is to be brought about by peaceful means through the cultivation of the recognition of the common interests of the nations. "Those who look forward to the federation of nations," he says, "must work together to teach their ideals to the young, to teach that no nation has

the right to impose its ideals upon another one, that no war is justifiable except for the defense of the threatened integrity of our ideals." (6.) Such a philosophy of culture is obviously opposed to the theories of Bernhardi and Treitschke and in keeping with the best thought of Herder.

When we stop to think that the science of sociology was unknown in the eighteenth century, we begin to realize how penetrating was Herder's insight. He was mindful of the progress of the individual, his enthusiasm for individuality and his rebellion against formalism did not prevent his understanding the real significance of the past, the relation of the individual to the group, and the contribution of society as a whole to culture. In a broad way Herder in his philosophy of culture lays the foundation for a race pedagogy, which stated tersely would read: in the teaching of a people we should build upon their culture not try to destroy it. The world-wide efforts to convert primitive peoples to Christianity, the forcing of a foreign culture upon an alien conquered people, are examples of the violation of this pedagogy. The social philosophy of Herder suggests the beginnings of sociology and social psychology and the recognition of the social aspects of education and culture. Again we find Herder a *Bahnbrecher*, one standing on the tiptoe of expectancy for the gates of the nineteenth century to swing wide open, a blazer of new trails for humanity.



CHAPTER XXIII

RETROSPECT AND SUMMARY

We have now passed in rapid review the life and times of Herder with a more leisurely survey of the man as an educator. To get a clearer perspective of just what Herder stands for in the history of education let us summarize with the utmost brevity.

As an educator in the narrower sense, Herder distinguished himself in the following particulars:—

1. A teacher and administrator of schools for nearly forty years.
2. A writer of text-books for children.
3. A writer on educational theory.
4. In both his theory and practice of education greatly in advance of his time.
5. A leader in the movement of New Humanism.
6. Influenced the further study of Greek in the schools.
7. Father of the New Humanistic Gymnasium in Germany.
8. Helped to set up new ideals of classical study.
9. Influenced the further study of the mother tongue.
10. Foreshadowed the "*Social-Pädagogik*."
11. Affected the theory and practice of education through his influence on such men as

Fichte, Richter, Von Humboldt, and Herbart.

12. His vital contribution, not methods of teaching, but ideals of national life and progress. These ideals accepted by educators who came after Herder powerfully influenced the work of the schools.

Indirectly and from a broader point of view, Herder must be regarded as one of the great educators because he taught the whole German people, even the world, through his extraordinary influence on culture. In the more general summary below I have set down some of his achievements which I believe entitle him to the honor of educator in this larger sense:—

1. Herder inspired modern ideals of culture.
2. A pathfinder, initiating through his own efforts the beginnings of many phases of modern culture.
3. One of the most versatile men of his age.
4. First to see life as an organic whole.
5. Foreshadowed much of the modern theory of evolution, particularly the idea that the whole universe was in a state of becoming.
6. Tried to find a meaning for life in its origins.
7. Founded the genetic method of study.
8. Father of the evolutionary conception of history.
9. First to study history as a natural science, and to see it as a whole.
10. Aroused the Germans to develop a culture

which was a true expression of their own natural genius, to cease imitating the French and the Romans.

11. Helped tremendously to turn the minds of the German people to the civilization of the Greeks as a model.
12. Set up new standards for the appreciation of Homer.
13. Inspired an enthusiasm for the German poets of the past, and, in fact, for the achievements of the German people as a whole.
14. Inspired an appreciative study of the Middle Ages, and so laid the foundation for the Romantic Movement.
15. Taught the Germans to appreciate their *Volkslieder*.
16. Inspired the writers of the classical period of German literature of whom Goethe is one of the best examples.
17. Helped to popularize the English writers in Germany, especially Shakespeare.
18. One of the foremost literary critics that Germany has produced.
19. Translator of much foreign literature, thereby leading Germany to appreciate the world's best writings.
20. Established some principles of translating that have served as guides for the best translators.
21. Founder of the science of comparative literature.

22. Founder of the study of the origins of language.
23. Inspired others to translate the masterpieces of the Old German and North literatures.
24. Inspired the study of philology, notably Grimm.
25. Led Germans to a fuller appreciation of Gothic architecture and the German painters.
26. A leading figure of the *Sturm und Drang*.
27. One of the leading opponents of rationalism and one of the earliest to advocate the importance of feeling.
28. Strengthened the belief in the unity of the mind.
29. Aroused a new interest in Spinoza and Leibnitz.
30. Influenced German idealism, especially Schelling and Hegel.
31. Anticipated modern tendencies in psychology, particularly social psychology.
32. First to consider religion as a natural process.
33. One of the founders of the historical and comparative study of religions.
34. One of the first to study the scriptures critically.
35. One of the pioneers in the study of primitive culture.
36. One of the earliest advocates of international peace.
37. One of the most versatile and voluminous writers that Germany has yet produced.

38. One of the greatest preachers of his time.

39. A pioneer in æsthetics.

40. Foreshadowed modern race pedagogy.

To get a clear and connected idea of Herder's place in the history of education it seems best to review again in a less formal manner those things that make him a significant figure as an educator.

The beginning of the latter half of the eighteenth century was an age characterized by little independent thinking, especially in Germany. There was a blind imitation of foreign standards and foreign ideals in language, literature, philosophy, art, and general culture. National individuality was at a low ebb, formalism and outer show obscured the fundamental realities of life. All these tendencies were reflected to a greater or less extent in the schools of the time, which were given to the dead study of the dead languages and the training in superficial conventionalities. The real Germany was in a miserable disguise; it had not yet discovered that it had pinions of its own.

But a new spirit made its appearance. The victories of Frederick the Great aroused a latent feeling of patriotism for the Fatherland, a feeling which consciously or unconsciously was opposed to the condition of things. Then too the prophet of a new culture appeared in the person of Johann Gottfried Herder. He would revive the latent genius of the people, restore their pristine vigor, in short, give Germany a soul. A new ideal

was necessary. Germany could not attain her possibilities by aping a foreign culture or by applying abstract principles of metaphysics to the great problems of life. This new ideal of culture stood for genuineness and substantiality. The real humanity of mankind had been submerged by formalism and conventionality. Herder maintained that progress meant nothing other than the progressive realization of humanity—freedom, love of the good, the true and the beautiful, morality, industry, religion, the attainment of all the splendid resources of man. Ideal humanity was the standard which Herder presented to both the nation and the individual. Here was an educational aim broad and meaningful. True education, true culture, could be nothing external. Aping the French literature or the Greek art could never stand for wholesome and real culture. German culture must spring from the soil, must have its roots deep in the past, must be grounded on the traditions and life of the German people of days gone by; culture could not be put on and off like a coat. Turning from a barren and scholastic philosophy which endeavored to interpret life from logical and abstruse premises, Herder sought to find the meaning of life in the facts of the past, in history and in natural science. He was in search of the real humanity beneath the fuss and feathers of superficial culture. This fullness of humanity he found most highly exemplified in the personality

of Christ, and in the life of the ancient Greeks. This search for a humanized mankind made Herder the leader in the new movement known as New Humanism. This movement had its source largely in the study of the civilization of the Ancient Greeks. But here again Herder did not advocate any imitation of the Greeks such as had taken place in the copying of the Romans under the traditional humanism. He would study the Greeks to find the secret of their success so that the Germans might know better how to bring out their own latent genius. His remarkable historical perspective taught him that no people could ever win self by trying to be like somebody else. He recommended that every German should first of all be a good German. In fact, he would have said that to be the best individual German that you can be means the highest possible educational attainment. In the past of Germany rather than in her present he saw Germany's greatness; in the simple natural folk songs he saw more genius than in the pseudoclassics; for they were genuine and Germanic. Herder's voice was the clarion note which aroused the Germans to new life and vigor, which urged them to throw off a make-believe culture, an external appearance, and develop a natural culture from within themselves. He largely inspired Germany's golden age of literature, the great names of which were Schiller and Goethe, and taught the Germans to

be proud of their past. He was the first to see life as an organic whole bound together by cause and effect. This made him the father of the evolutionary method of study which has borne such fruitage in our own time. In his survey of life, he was constantly trying to restore a natural feeling toward things, a feeling which had become obscured by an endeavor to assume that which man was not. There is scarcely a part of the vast field of culture which did not feel the effect of his point of view and his enthusiasm.

While the writings of Herder have certain serious faults in style, so much so that he is often seriously neglected by writers on the history of culture, it cannot be doubted that his contribution was of fundamental importance. He contributed most undoubtedly not by what he did himself but by what he was able to get others to do. His conception of a New Humanism was the seed which blossomed forth not only in literature but also in religion, art, anthropology, and general culture. His volumes of criticism lie on the shelves to-day, almost forgotten except by the exceptional scholar with whom accident brings him in contact, but his life has become mirrored in the life of the German people. He was a prophet of the culture of the nineteenth century, and it is no exaggeration to say that he was a schoolmaster of the German nation.

He was not a mere theorist but a man of practical affairs. In the pulpit and behind the teacher's

desk he labored nobly and intelligently. A humanized religion and a humanized education were the goals. In the school he presented the ideal of the complete and harmonious development of the powers of the individual. Again the Greeks were set up as models of what might be done by following the track of nature. He saw through the artificial Latin culture of his day the hardness of its methods and the unattractiveness of its studies. He saw clearly that there were different places in society that needed to be filled, that some must be hewers of wood and some must be scholars. He would have the earlier years prepare for the things fundamentally important for everybody to know, and the later years for those who would occupy the higher places of responsibility. But back of all the machinery for accomplishing these purposes was the idea of making the pupils Germans. The study of one's mother tongue and proficiency in its use he regarded as much more important than a dry knowledge of the Latin classics. In practical school education Herder without doubt contributed much to the emphasis on the mother tongue and the increased study of Greek.

A German first and last, Herder was bound down by no narrow and provincial feeling of patriotism. In a broad sense he deserves to be called one of the first citizens of the world. The vain glorification of any particular nation he despised. He loved Germany, believed in her

and wished to inspire her to do her best, but he had much the same feeling toward the other countries of the world. His broad knowledge of and sympathy with the nations of the earth made it impossible for him to be a bigot. The great purpose of life, as he saw it, was the furthering of humanity. The church, state, school, and national life were all to be valued not according to traditional standards but on the basis of their offering the opportunity to give expression to the bigness of man's natural possibilities. Such a philosophy put Herder in sympathy with the most important intellectual and democratic movements of the twentieth century and of our own time.

In his "History of German Civilization" Ernest Richard sums up Herder's contribution to culture in these words:—

"The influence of Herder not only in Germany, but also in Europe, was great and lasting. His disciples were not only the great scientists of Germany, as her great philologists led by F. A. Wolf, her great historians as Niebuhr and Eichorn, the two Humboldts, the two Grimms, and numerous others; but in England Burke, who in his turn influenced a later generation of Germans, Carlyle, Darwin, Coleridge, and others may be counted among his followers, while in France men like Benjamin Constant, Thierry, Guizot, De Tocqueville, Renan, and Taine belong to his school. His influence reaches down directly to our own days." (63, p. 405.)

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